



[And say: My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'an]

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THE ANNUAL FAIRS OF THE PAGAN ARABS

THE recent publication of the *Kitāb al-Muhabbar* by the Dā'irat-ul-Ma'ārif contains on pp. 263-268 an important chapter on the ancient fairs in Arabia. The editors appear to have been unaware that a much earlier publication of the Dā'irat also contains a similar chapter. I refer to the *Kitāb al-Azmina* by al-Marzūqī,¹ and they would have done well to have referred to it, as both chapters are derived from the same source and agree often word for word. So the meaningless phrase وَكَوَا اكْنَارَبْ on page 264 1.6 is complete only if we add the word قَنْ, ² which is found in Marzūqī. Both relations are derived from an earlier work by the antiquarian Abul-Mundhir ibn al-Kalbī, to whom we owe most of the accounts of pre-Islamic customs. Ibn al-Kalbī's works appear practically all to have perished except for two manuscripts of his work on Arab genealogies which, to judge by a marginal note in the manuscript of the *Mu'jam ash-Shu'arā'* of al-Marzubānī by the eighth century scholar Mughultā'ī, is only an abbreviation of a much larger work now lost and his book on the Arab Idols.³ Abū Bakr Muhammād b. al-Hasan b. Duraid (died 321 A.H.) derived his knowledge of the works of Ibn al-Kalbī from his uncle al-Husain in whose house Ibn al-Kalbī was a frequent visitor. As the text of the *Kitāb al-Amkina* also mentions Abū 'Ubaida Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna as one of its sources, Ibn Duraid may also have had such information from his Shaikh, Abū Hātim as-Sijistānī, but I do not see any internal evidence in the *Kitāb*

1. This important work was published over thirty years ago in 1332, and contains too many errors which could easily be rectified in a new edition which should have a liberal vocalisation.

2. The text means: "They, the tribe of Kalb, have among Arabs the greatest number of home-born slaves." *Qinn* means the son or daughter of a slave. These were, for the sake of gain, taken to the fairs to be prostitutes, not the daughters of the free Arabs. We learn from pre-Islamic poets that Greeks and Jews carried women as well as fire-water (an inferior fiery wine, as in modern times) to the Hijaz.

3. Published by Ahmad Zaki Pasha in 1914. Fragments of Ibn al-Kalbī's *Kitāb al-Mathālib* are contained in a volume of the *Muw'afqaqyādīt*, unique manuscript of which should be in the library left by Ahmad Zaki. I have a copy of the greater portion, except for one leaf which the original owner of the manuscript would not allow to be copied, so that no one else should possess the work in full.

al-Muhabbar that it contains anything which was not found in the book of Ibn al-Kalbi. The text of the *Kitāb al-Amkina* is frequently fuller and it seems that Ibn Habib deliberately left out details, as for example of the goods sold and bought at some of the markets and some special events connected with certain visits to the fairs. The names of the tribes or persons who were guardians of the fairs and levied a ten per cent. tax on goods, and the tribes who, against a payment, undertook to ensure safety in travelling to the fairs are in both accounts the same except in that of the fair at ash-Shihr on the Hadramaut coast, which is a rather long distance from the place in which to-day is the small mosque over the supposed grave of the Prophet Hūd. The *Kitāb al-Muhabbar* says that the merchants were under the protection of the Banū Mūhārib b. Harb (with a not ζ) of the Mahra people, while Marzūqī mentions in this case the Banū Yathrib, also of Mahra. It is impossible to say which is correct as the antiquarians could have but scanty knowledge of this far off country in which the people spoke and still at this day speak an entirely different language from Arabic proper.

It is important also to note that the accounts collected by Ibn al-Kalbi relate to the seasons into which the ancient months fell before the additional days were given up and the Muslim year no longer tallied with the seasons. The names of several months still indicate their place in the solar year, the two *Rabi'* were in *autumn*, with which the journeys of the merchants commence in both accounts. With the approach of winter (*Jumādā* frost-month from *Jumādā* to freeze) they travelled towards the hotter regions, but were in 'Aden and Ṣanā in the height of summer (*Ramadān*, from *Ramada*—to be excessively hot) to reach 'Ukāz, near the holy places, during the holy months, when and where no special protection was necessary.

Marzūqī has added to the information derived from Ibn al-Kalbi a short chapter on the fairs of Syria derived from a lost work by Muhammad b. Kunāsa.¹

1. Muhammad b. Habib died in 245 A.H. and could have studied the works of Ibn al-Kalbi under the author. Marzūqī is much later and was living in Isfahān and died in 421 A.H. (Biographies in Yaqut, *Ishād*, II, 103 and *Suyūṭī*, *Bughyat*, 159).

Marzūqī (II, 161, 2) states that the account he gives is on the authority of Abū Bakr b. Duraid and the latter says (p. 168.14) that the account of the fairs was not in the Book of Abu 'Ubaidah but that Abū Hātum as-Sujistānī had added it. From this it would appear that the latter also transmitted the works of Ibn al-Kalbi.

As regards the Manuscript of the *Mathālib* of Ibn al-Kalbi it was originally in the possession of a learned Shī'ah scholar at Nājaf, and he allowed a friend of mine to make a copy of it with the exception of one leaf as stated above. When the American traveller Amin Raihānī visited Nājaf the owner made him a present of this unique manuscript dating, in my opinion, from the sixth century. Raihānī, who was not a classical scholar, visited Ahmād Zekī Pasha in Cairo and presented the manuscript to him. As I was at that time interested in the history of the first century of the Hijra I enquired from Zekī Pasha if he intended to publish the work and he replied that he had mislaid it. Both Raihānī and Zekī Pasha died many years ago and the library of the latter has been inherited by the Dār al-Kutub, where the manuscript should be at present. I wonder if it has disappeared again.

(Contd.)

A modern Syrian scholar of repute Sa'īd al-Afghānī, has collected and elaborated the information furnished by the two ancient sources and occasional references in other works in a book which he published in 1356/1937, and I understand that this edition is exhausted and that he contemplates a second enlarged issue.

F. KRENKOW.

As regards the contents I can assert that the manuscript is not the *Kitāb al-Mathālib* of Ibn al-Kalbi but a volume of the *Muwaqqiyyāt* of az-Zubair b. Bakkār, a work which originally consisted of five volumes of which the last (Bab 16-19) is preserved in Gottingen. The manuscript begins with extracts from the work of Ibn al-Kalbi, perhaps the whole of the *Mathālib*, but soon begin extracts from a work of a similar title by al-Haitham b. 'Adl. The end of the manuscript is missing.

‘ULAYYA

A LESS KNOWN ‘ABBASID PRINCESS

PRINCESS ‘Ulayya, the poetess, musician and music-theorist, is one of those literary luminaries of the ‘Abbasid period about whom we know very little. The fact is that though modern scholarship has attempted to ransack the vast and extensive region of the “Golden Age of Islam,” there are still many hidden treasures here and there, whose discovery will undoubtedly enrich our heritage immensely.

We know that the ‘Abbasid princes with a few exceptions¹ were passionately devoted to poetry and music. They not only appreciated these arts to the fullest extent, or gathered a galaxy of eminent poets and gifted musicians at their courts, but at least some of them took great pains in cultivating them. Thus al-Mahdi (775-85) possessed an exceptionally fine voice and was very fond of singing. Hārūn ar-Rashid (786-809) was the author of a number of beautiful poems addressed to Helen, and was the first man to elevate singing into a noble profession. Al-Mā’mūn (823-33), his son, has not written much, but the few verses that have come down to us bear evidence of his remarkable poetical talent. His palace, except for a period of twenty months in which he never heard any music, rang with the sound of voices and instruments. Caliph al-Wāthiq (842-47) distinguished himself both as an excellent composer and a skilful performer on the ‘Ūd (lute). Ibn al-Mu’tazz (866-69), the versatile poet, was the first man to attempt a metrical epic in miniature in Arabic literature, and also composed beautiful Bacchanalian pieces.² Other members of the royal family who were not fortunate enough to grace the caliphal throne and are comparatively less known, also took keen interest in literary and musical pursuits.³ Even the ladies of the Imperial House, despite the

1. Al-Mansūr (754-75), for example, was completely insensible to the charms of music. Cf Aghāñī, XIII, 115.

2. For further information I will request my readers to go through Julian Ribra’s *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain*, translated and abridged by Eleanor Hague and Marion Leffingwell (1929); and Dr. Henry George Farmer’s *A History of Arabian Music*, (1929). They are admirable works on the subject and I have consulted both of them with interest and profit.

3. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yahya as-Ṣūlī has devoted his entire book *Ash’ārū Awlād al-Khulafā’ wa Akhbārūhūm*, ed. Heyworth-Dunne, 1936, which forms the third volume of his famous *Kitāb al-Awraq* to these less celebrated princes.

handicaps of the restricted movement, seclusion and segregation of the fair sex—which in course of time became more and more rigid—held their own against men in culture, wit, music and poetry, and often organised poetical recitations and musical soirées. The Empress Zubaida was a gifted woman and an accomplished poetess. 'Ubaidā was regarded as one of the best songstresses of her time. She excelled in arts and literature, and played very skilfully on the instrument *Tanbūr* (pandore) which fact earned for her the title *at-Tunbūriya*. Badhl, a most accomplished *artiste*, is said to have composed a *Book of Songs* containing some 12,000 specimens. Fadl, the poetess, who lived for sometime in al-Mutawakkil's (1847-61) palace, is considered equal to the most eminent poet of that time.¹ But the most fascinating figure in the whole of the 'Abbasid family that filled court rejoicings and festivities with grace and radiance was Princess 'Ulayya. Unfortunately such a towering personality of 'Abbasid literary and social life—whatever may be the reason or reasons—has been wilfully neglected and callously unnoticed by classical² as well as modern³ scholars, and consequently invites our special care and attention.

'Ulayya, the daughter of al-Mahdi the third 'Abbasid caliph, was born in A.D. 777 (A.H. 160). Her mother Maknūna,⁴ a songstress belonging to the Marwānian family but not sharing royal blood, was a beautiful woman well-versed in music. She was at first married to one Hasan b. 'Abdullāh, then Ibn al-Qaddāh, as the story runs, bought her for the huge sum of one hundred thousand silver pieces for al-Mahdi, and she was admitted to the latter's *Harim* in the lifetime of al-Manṣūr (754-75) but without his knowledge. Her grace, comeliness and above all her tender melodies gained the affection of the Caliph to such an extent that even Khaizurān the queen could not help entertaining some feeling of jealousy against her.⁵ Princess 'Ulayya must have been initiated into the practice of music by her mother in her very early childhood. However, she rose to be an exquisite musician and an elegant poetess of her time. It is enough to say that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdi (779-839), her brother by another mother Shakla,⁶ a singer, theorist, and instrumental performer of outstanding merit, and the leader of the Romantic movement in music,

1. See Ribera, *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain*, pp. 58-60, and Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music*, pp. 132-36, 162-63.

2. *Aṣ-Ṣalīl* (*Aṣḥāb al-Ār*, pp. 55-83), Abu'l-Faraj al-Isbāhānī (*Aghānī*, IX, pp. 83-95, XIII, 115) and Kutubī, *Fawḍ*, ed. Egypt (1299 A.H.) Vol. II, pp. 99-101 alone have done some justice to the Princess.

3. In Farmer's *A History of Arabian Music* her name occurs twice (pp. 119, 213), but in both places only a passing reference has been made. Ribera too, at least in the English translation of his *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain* (pp. 46, 65, 81 and 111), has dismissed her with a few words.

4. According to Ibn Khurdādhbih (d. ca. 912), *Baṣbaṣ* ("Cares"), another singing-girl of al-Mahdi was the mother of 'Ulayya. But al-Isbāhānī rejects this version as doubtful. Cf. *al-Aghānī*, XIII, pp. 114-15.

5. *Aghānī*, IX, p. 83, XIII, p. 115.

6. According to Dr. Krenckow Shukla is perhaps more correct. Cf. *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, January 1944, p. 56 f. art. *The Minstrels of the Golden Age of Islam*—Farmer.

received musical lessons from her.¹ 'Abdullāh, the grandson of Fadl b. Rabi' the celebrated Chamberlain of al-Hārūn, is said to have remarked, "In Islam there never have been a sister and a brother more talented in music than 'Ulayya and her half-brother Ibrāhīm, and she even surpassed him."² As-Ṣūlī (d. 946), the renowned literary historian, says: "I do not find any princess in the whole of the 'Abbasid family who can be a match³ to 'Ulayya. She wrote good poetry and composed a large number of good melodies."⁴ 'Uraib (d. 841), a famous singer from al-Hijāz, once admitted that the happiest day she ever spent in her whole life was the day on which she heard 'Ulayya chanting a song of her own composition to the accompaniment of the Mizmār (reed-pipe) played by her step-brother Ya'qūb.⁵ Ishāq al-Mausili (767-850), the chief court-musician, was one day simply amazed to hear one of his own melodies imitated by her, and exclaimed, "Good God, I have never seen such a thing before!"⁶

'Ulayya was a very pious and devout lady. She indulged in the "profane" arts of singing and composing poems only in the period of her delicate health when a woman is exempted from the prescribed five daily prayers. When she had no such excuses she spent most of her time in saying prayers, reading and teaching the Holy Qur'ān, and sometimes retired to an isolated corner of the mosque for deep meditation. In one of her customary prayers she used to say, "Lord, do not forgive me if I commit anything prohibited, nor if I make up my mind to do the same. Whenever I am on the verge of being carried away by my passion towards error I recall my relationship with the Prophet, and abstain from committing it. Verily God knows that I have never spoken any lies, nor have I ever broken my promises."⁷

Beside being extremely pretty, she possessed a very fine taste in setting fashions. It was she who invented the use of the fillet or diadem, a very lovely ornament worn round the forehead, carved in the shape of a head-band and studded with precious stones. Her forehead, it is said, was a bit too broad and she used to wear this ornament to hide this slight imperfection of her face.⁸ Since then it has been a very popular head-decoration. In India it is still in vogue, with a very ingenious addition of a thin golden chain attached to it which is fixed just at the parting of hair.

1. *Ash'ār*, pp. 55, 83, *Aghānī*, IX, pp. 87, 95.

2. *Ash'ār*, p. 55, *Aghānī*, IX, p. 83.

3. *Ash'ār*, p. 55.

It is interesting to note that she has been compared to Princess Wallida, the daughter of al-Mustakfi الملك ابنة الملك *al-Mustakfi* *Maqqāri*, *Nafh at-Tib*, ed. Dozy, Vol. II, p. 565.

4. *Aghānī*, IX, p. 89; *Fawātī*, Vol. II, pp. 100-101.

5. *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 86-7.

6. *Ash'ār*, pp. 55-57; *Aghānī*, IX, p. 83.

7. *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 83; *Fawātī*, II, p. 99.

8. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 83.

'Ulayya entered into the limelight of arts and letters in the reign of her half-brother, Hārūn ar-Rashid. In his assemblies her wit, humour, elegance, poetry, conviviality and above all her musical skill evoked the highest admiration from all. But the Caliph, who had taken personal care in her education, was in particular enchanted by her rare accomplishments. In fact she was a "message of joy," a "picture of sunshine," and a "phantom of delight" to al-Hārūn. He always addressed her as My Soul,¹ and invited her to sit with him on the throne, but she very courteously expressed her inability to comply with the royal request.² On many occasions he sent for the Princess to listen to her songs when other noted court-singers had failed to humour him. Once one single melody sung by 'Ulayya filled him with so much delight that he ordered the exchequer to distribute all he had in the treasury, and not to spare a single coin. Thus in one day some six crores Dirhems were spent.³ 'Ulayya too was sincerely attached to her half-brother. She frequently sent poetical epistles to him and composed many verses and tunes exclusively for him.⁴ She was very much grieved to see al-Hārūn's affliction and restlessness because of his ill-considered treatment of the Bermekide family, and comforted him feelingly in these soft words, "I never saw you enjoying a single day of complete happiness since you put Ja'far to death. Then pray why did you kill him?"⁵ She always tried to provide entertainments for the Caliph. Once she purchased a melody from Ishāq al-Mauṣili for 40 thousand Dirhems and 40 pieces of cloth,⁶ and is said to have trained a number of singing-girls for his palace.⁷ It is true that she occasionally incurred al-Hārūn's displeasure also. But these fits of severity were very brief, for the Caliph could deny nothing to the poetess who gave him such charming verses in her own renderings and in her own magnificent voice. Once her intimacy with Tall, a slave of ar-Rashid, excited the latter's anger, and he commanded her not only not to speak to him but not even to mention his name. Now it so happened that one day while reciting the holy Qur'ān she reached a verse⁸ that contained the word ل which she did not utter, and instead said "that whose utterance has been prohibited by the Caliph." The Caliph, who was accidentally passing by, overheard her and was so much pleased that he pressed a kiss on her head and permitted her to deal with the slave as she pleased.⁹ On another occasion al-Hārūn took her to task for halting

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2. *Ash'ār*, pp. 55-6; *Fawāt*, II, p. 100.

3. Aghānī, IX, p. 88. The composition was .

ویٹ بعدی ان تصل

4. *Ash'är*, p. 58; *Aghāni*, IX, p. 93.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 57; Ibn K.

6. *Aghdñi*, IX, p. 8
II, 1, IV

7. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 90

8. —فان لم يصها و ابل مطل —Sūrat

at Tizanābādh,¹ a luxurious beauty spot, on her return journey from the pilgrimage. She in no time composed a few couplets, set an air for them, and chanted them before the Caliph, who no sooner heard them than he was reconciled.² In one of his journeys to Rayy he took 'Ulayya along with him, perhaps against her wish. When the party reached Marj she extemporised the following verses and set them to music before al-Hārūn :

وَمُغْرِبٌ بِالْمَرْجِ يَكُنْ لِشَجَوَهِ
وَقَدْ غَابَ عَنِ الْمَسْعُودَنِ
إِذَا مَا تَاهَ الرَّكَبُ مِنْ نَحْوَارِهِ
تَنْشَقُ يَسْتَشْفِي بِرَاحَةِ الرَّكَبِ

"A traveller at Marj is lamenting in his sorrow, and those who help him in his love have deserted him. When horsemen come to him from the direction of his homeland, he takes long breaths seeking his relief from their fragrance."

These verses betrayed her home-sickness and her longing to meet her people. Al-Hārūn did not fail to realise it and at once ordered her to be sent back to 'Irāq.³

The death of Caliph Hārūn ar-Rashid in the year 809 A.D. affected her heart very deeply. Like a faded rose she entirely lost her charm, her radiance and her sweet agreeableness, and bade farewell to poetry and music. She of course wrote something for al-Amin (809-13) and al-Mā'mūn the succeeding rulers, but only when induced by the caliphs, and even then in a rather disinterested and half-hearted manner.⁴ She survived al-Hārūn fifteen long unhappy years with the sweet memories of the joyous days of dalliance as her only comfort, and passed away in the year 825 A.D. (210 A.H.).⁵ Even the death of the gifted Princess is not free from some elements of poetry and romance. Al-Mā'mūn, after the proscribed period of twenty months, had begun taking special delight in the musical talents more especially of his musical kinsmen.⁶ One day in some such musical festivities he, perhaps in a fit of ecstasy inspired by her melodious voice, embraced 'Ulayya very tightly and rained down kisses on her lovely head. Her face being completely covered she lost her breath and began to cough.⁷ Soon after, she had an attack of fever to which she succumbed in course of a few days.⁸

1. Al-Iqbāhī has wrongly spelt it Tīratābādh (Aghānī IX, p. 93). It was a pleasure resort full of orchards, vinegars and taverns and was situated between Kūfa and Qādisiyya on the pilgrim's way. Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, ed. Wüstenfeld, III, pp. 569-70.

2. Ash'ār, p. 59; Aghānī, IX, p. 93.

3. Ash'ār, p. 60; Aghānī, IX, p. 99; Fā'ūd, II, 100

4. Ibid, p. 82; Ibid IX, 99;

5. Curiously enough the account of her marriage or married life is not available in the few sources of her biography which I have consulted, except that she was the wife of Mūsa b. 'Isa, a member of the royal family. Cf. Ash'ār, p. 83; Fā'ūd, II, p. 99.

6. Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, Al-'Iqd al-Farid, III, p. 240. Aghānī, V, p. 106. The First musician to whom he listened was either Muḥammad b. al-Hārūn (Aghānī, IX, p. 52) or Abū 'Isa, the son of al-Hārūn ('Iqd, III, p. 240), both his near relations.

7. فَشَرَقَتْ مِنْ ذَلِكَ وَسْطَتْ

8. Ash'ār, p. 83; Aghānī, IX, p. 95; Fā'ūd, II, pp. 99-100.

Ibn Nadīm records that the Princess wrote a note-book of poetry consisting of some 20 pages.¹ But the author of the *Fawāt* mentions that she left a *Dīwān*.² If she did really compose such a thing it is very unfortunate that it has not come down to us. More than two hundred of her couplets, however, have been preserved by as-Šūlī and al-Isbāhānī.³ They are occasional poems of fragmentary character, and generally written on the spur of the moment. But they are specimens of charmingly fresh poetry, distinguished by their lightness, elegance, and depth and tenderness of feelings. Love and wine are two most favourite themes which she treated with monotonous reiteration. But her love throughout is pure, sincere and sublime. Her heart is broken but full of hope. She feels from the very bottom of her heart, and makes us feel likewise. Here are some of her most representative verses :

She treats of Love, Beauty and Separation from the beloved, again and again, and the treatment is intimately personal :

فرجوا كربني قليلا فلقد صرت نحيلأ
افعلوا في امر مشغول ف بكم فعلا جميلا

Relieve me of my affliction a little, for I have become emaciated.
Treat him gently who has fallen in love with you.

ما صنع المجران لا كانا حاج على الهرج احزانا
ونم طرق بدخول الهوى فصار ما اسررت اعلانا

What separation (from the beloved) has acted upon me, may not act upon (anybody). It has hurled sorrows upon me. My eyes betrayed my innermost love, so that which I kept concealed has become manifest.

اذاكنت لا يسليك عن تجاه تلقاء ولا يشفيك طول تلقاء
فها انت الا مستغير حشاشة لمهجة نفس آذنت بفارق

When remoteness from the person whom you love does not comfort you, nor long intercourse with him satisfy you, then you are only borrowing the last breaths for your life-blood, which is ready to depart.

أيا رب حتى من اصرع وختام ابكي واسترجع
لقد قطع الياس حبل الرجا
فهافي وصالك لى مطعم
بليت بقلب ضعيف القوى وعين تضر ولا تنفع

1. *Fihrist*, p. 233.

2. Vol. II, p. 99.

3. *Ash'ār*, pp. 56-83; *Aghānī*, IX, pp. 84-95.

اذا ما ذكرت الهوى والمنى تحدى من جفتها اربع

Lord, how long shall I remain fallen and how long shall I wail and lament ? Disappointment has cut down the chord of my hope, so that I entertain no desire for union with you. I have been put to trial by (my) feeble heart and the eyes which always do harm and never heal. Whenever I think of my desire and my love, my eyes shed tears from their four sides.

لا حزن الا دون حزن نالني
يوم الفراق وقد غدروت مودعا
فاذالاحبة قد تولت غيرهم
وبقيت فردا والها متوجها

There is no sorrow except the sorrow that I received on the day of separation while bidding farewell (to my friends), when their camels turned their faces and I was left all alone, madly in love, and afflicted.

كتمت اسما الحبيب من العباد
وردت الصبا به في فوادي
فوا شوق الى بلد خلي
لعل باسم من اهوى انا داي

I concealed my beloved's name from people and repeated my love in my heart of hearts. Then O my longing for a lonely place, where I could utter aloud the name of him whom I love !

يا خلتي وصفيني وعذابي
مالى كتبت فلم ترد جوابي
خنت الموانق ام لقيت حواسدا
يهون هجري ام مللت عتابي

O my love and my choicest friend, and my torment, why did I write a letter to you and you did not favour me with a reply ? Have you broken your promises or have you met my enemies who wish my separation (from you), or has my complaint offended you ?

يا حب بالله لم هجرتني
صددت عنى فيما تبالي
وآمل الوعد منك ذو غرر
لأنخدعه كما خدعتنى
وإين اليمين التي حلفت بها

O my love, for God's sake tell me why have you forsaken me ? You have turned away from me so you do not care for me. Do not deceive innocent people who believe in your promises as you have deceived me. Where are those oaths which you took (citing) God as your witness, and then broke ?

الا ياقس و يحک لا تشوق الى من ليس بالبر الشقيق
 الا ياقس انت جنیت هذا فذوق ثم ذوق ثم ذوق

O my accursed soul, do not long for one who is neither kind nor generous. O my soul, you committed this fault, then taste it, then taste it, then taste it.

Some of those verses which were set to music are :

سلم على ذكر الغزا ل الا غيد المبى الدلال
 سلم عليه و قل له يا غل الباب الرجال
 خليت جسمى ضاحيا و سكنت في ظل الحجال
 وبلغت مني غاية لم ادر فيها ما احتيال

Greet the memory of the youthful, coquettish and captivating gazelle' Greet her and tell her, "O shackle of men's reasons, you have forsaken my body wailing, and taken abode under the pavilion set for the brides. You have dragged me to such an extremity that I do no know what can avail me.

يادا الذى اكتم حبيه ولست من خوف اسيه
 لم يدر ما بي من هواه ولم يعلم بما قاسيه فيه

O one whose love I conceal and whom I do not name out of fear ! He is not aware of my longing for him nor does he know what I have suffered for his love.

اشکوا فرادى بالهموم و وحشى لفراكم و صبابى وحشى
 وتلقى كيماراك و مارى الا خيالا مذكرا يوذنى

I complain of my loneliness in grief, my melancholy in your separation, my affection and my yearning (for you), and (also) my desire to have a glimpse of you while I see only your apparition which torments me by reminding me (of you).

الشوق بين جوانحى يتزدد ودموع عيني تستهل و تندد
 انى لاطمع ثم انهض بالمنى والياس يجدنى اليه فاقعد

Yearning is struggling in my bosom, and the tears of my eyes trickle down, and are drained. I feel tempted, and I rise up with my desires, but disappointment draws me towards itself and then I sit down.

وَمَدْنَنَ الْخَمْرِ يَصْحُو بَعْدَ سَكْرَتِهِ
وَقَدْ سَكَرْتَ بِلَا خَمْرٍ يَخْمَرْنِي

لَمَا ذَكَرْتُ وَمَا اَنْسَاهُ اَنْسَانًا^۱

A person addicted to wine recovers after his drunkenness, but the lover is always found intoxicated. I get intoxicated without any wine that inebriates whenever I think of a person, though I never forget him.

نَامَ عَذَالِي وَلَمْ أَنْمِ
وَاسْتَقْنَى الْوَاسْوَنْ مِنْ سَقْمِي
وَإِذَا مَا قُلْتَ بِي أَلْمٌ
شَكْ مِنْ أَهْوَاهِ فِي أَلْمِي^۲

My slanderer slept but I had no sleep, and the calumniator derived satisfaction from my sickness. When I said I was sick he whom I loved did not believe in my pain.

Even a cursory reading of these love-lyrics unmistakably reveals that the most important thing that decided the character of 'Ulayya's poetry was her musical aptitude. Everywhere the words are inseparably bound up with the melody that adds richness to them. Many of her verses are originally musical inspirations or tone-waves which have been clad in mantle of words afterwards. Here lies her achievement as a music-theorist, for she was not only a great musician but a skilful composer of ditties too. She is credited with the authorship of some seventy-three *Aṣwāṭ*^۳ (airs), of which only two dozen have been quoted by al-Isbahāni.^۴ These delightful compositions are mostly in *ramal*, *hazaj*, and *khafif*, the lighter rhythmic modes which were more in keeping with the tastes of the period.^۵ She was specially attracted by the *ramal* mode which was first introduced by a musician named *Salmak* in the reign of al-Hārūn,^۶ for she used to say, "Nothing can please him who is not pleased by *ramal*."^۷

MAS'UD HASAN SHAMSI.

1. All these verses have been quoted from the *Ash'ār* (pp. 64-79) but some of them occur in the *Aghānī*, IX, also.

2. *Aghānī* IX, p. 86.

3. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 89.

4. *Ibid.*, X, pp. 84-95.

5. Rubera, *Music in Ancient Arabid and Spain*, pp. 79-80, Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music*, p. III.

6. *Aghānī*, I, p. 151.

7. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 89.

CONDUCT OF STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WAR DURING THE MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA

(Continued from p. 15 of the January 1947 Issue)

4. CONDUCT OF A BATTLE

A GREAT artillery duel took place in the battle near Lahore which was fought between Bahādur Shāh's sons after his death. Prince 'Azīm-ush-Shān entrenched himself on the bank of the Ravi, and had with him big guns, some of which were dragged by two hundred and fifty oxen aided by five or six elephants. 'Azīm-ush-Shān's three brothers Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Rafī'-ush-Shān and Jahān Shāh had sided together against him. They pitched their camps close to 'Azīm-ush-Shān's entrenchments, and built batteries for their own guns, some of which were posted on the mounds formed of the debris left from brick-burning. Before the battle began, a clandestine attempt was made to blow up 'Azīm-ush-Shān's power magazine but it met with failure. And then the operation commenced with cannon-fire from 'Azīm-ush-Shān's troops. The fire was maintained continuously for some time, but the opposite side returned shot for shot. The duel produced no result on that day. Next day the entrenched army of 'Azīm-ush-Shān was much harassed by the artillery fire of the besiegers. The former were encamped on the sandy ground in the dry bed of the river Rāvī, where they suffered much from cannon shot. Still they held their ground well. After three days of indecisive fighting the three princes decided to bring the contest to a final issue. They made an all-out advance towards the entrenchment of 'Azīm-ush-Shān, but they were received with a relentless discharge of cannon-fire. For six hours both sides maintained an artillery duel, and Jahāndār Shāh managed to reach close to 'Azīm-ush-Shān's earthen wall after heavily pounding his opponent's troops. A furious hand-to-hand fight followed. A shot from one of the heavy guns of the surging armies struck the trunk of the elephant on which Prince 'Azīm-ush-Shān was riding. The elephant turned and fled towards the Rāvī, where it was drowned along with the unsuccessful claimant to the throne of the Mughal empire.¹

1. Khāfi Khān, Vol. II, p. 686; Siyar-ul-Muta'akhrīn, Vol. II, pp. 382, 83, 84.

Artillery remained the most important and destructive armament till the last days of the Mughal rule. In the battle of Hasánpūr the deadly fire of Muhammad Shāh's big guns caused great destruction in Sayyid 'Abdullāh's army. A very graphic description of this battle has been given by Khāfi Khān. He writes "The royal forces, having the battery of guns in front of them, were set in motion, and the musical sounds of the drums and Karna infused vigour and fervour into the ground and the terrific discharge of the murderous guns, big and small, shook the earth and the sky. At mid-day the rival forces stood against each other at the distance of a rocket-flight, and the volleys of the cannon-balls and incendiary bars emboldened the respective combatants. The incessant discharge of the cannon invigorated the spirit of the victory-laden forces, but it shook the entire body of the hostile army, which had flocked together like ants and locusts. Some of the new recruits from amongst the pony-riders, and some even of the low-paid old soldiers, took to flight from the ranks of the opposite army, which owing to its huge host and improper arrangement had little or no information about the different files. At every moment and at every space, the volleys of guns and cannon grew still speedier, and thousands were made victims to death. The Sayyids of Barha charged many times most heroically, and towards the end they pressed the imperialists hard through a movement made by Najib-ud-Din 'Alī Khān Bahādur, who advanced a battery of guns under the cover of some trees on a hill near a village, and made a bold charge with fourteen or fifteen thousand horsemen upon the royal artillery. Confusion spread amongst the light-hearted combatants, but Mansūr Jang and Nāṣir Jang, like rank-breaking furious elephants galloped forward to resist the valiant attack of the Barhas, and checked their massive surge. Nusrat Yār Khān, Thābit Khān and other heroes also stood firm and took a leading part. At length some guns (Rakhala) of the enemy were taken by the imperialists, and the Barhas lost their battery under the cover of the trees. And at sunset the unfortunate Sayyid 'Abdullāh ordered a small tent to be put up for the night, but thinking that his tent and resting place would be a point-blank target for the archers of Khata, Rūm, and Farang (?) as well as for artillery, he ordered the pitched tent to be removed. The night was one of full moon, and moonlight spread throughout. When it grew dark Nāṣir Jang dragged forward the cannon by unusual means. The oxen were harnessed to the muzzle, instead of as usual to the breech-end of the gun. A moving battery was thus formed, and then a fierce charge was made. It is very difficult to describe how the volleys of rank-breaking and elephant killing cannon caused havoc, misery and death amongst the troops of Barha. With the discharge of every gun elephants and their riders were killed, and the thunderous roar of the cannon made one think of the day of resurrection..... Every ball which was thrown from the cannon named Ghāzi Khān on the troops of Barha broke their ranks, and the terrific noise produced by the cannon named Shāh Pasand shook the earth and filled the heaven with

clangour. Haidar Qulī Khān showered gold and silver coins upon the artillery-men to gain the favour of his royal master, and kept up their energy by continual largesse, making further promise for more rewards through speedy adjutants.....and the heavy guns, which were usually discharged only once or twice in former battles, fired oftener than had ever been done before in the recollection of the oldest man. I have read in *Tārikh-i-Muhammad Qāsim Firishta* in the accounts of the rulers of the Deccan that the beginning of artillery was made in 770 A.H., in the days of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmani, under supervision of Muḥammad Khān Rūmī during the course of battle against the Raja of Vijayanagar. But ever since that time till the days of Abu'l-Muẓaffar Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, artillery has not caused such a great havoc, destruction and misery as was caused in the present battle."¹ The so-called ease-loving Muḥammad Shāh fought in this battle with the traditional valour of his glorious ancestors. He had been sitting for eight or nine watches on his elephant, which was so near the vanguard as to be under fire.

In the battle of Karnal, Muḥammad Shāh used eight thousand pieces of artillery, which were drawn by elephants and buffaloes numbering 500 to 1,000. But these cannons did not work effectively against Nādir Shāh's better art of generalship, joined to the superior vigour, mobility and tactics of his troops. Nādir Shāh had portable light artillery, which consisted of Jazair (long muskets, seven or eight feet in length with a prong to rest on) and Zambarak (long swivels firing one or two pound balls). Each of these pieces, with its stock, was mounted on camels, which moved easily and speedily, gaining advantages over the cumbrous ordnances of the Mughal army.

Next to artillery, bows and arrows were the most effective weapon in causing consternation amongst the hostile army. Bābur describes the beginning of the first battle of Panipat in the following words : " Our orders were for the turning parties (Tulghama) to wheel from right and left to the enemy's rear, to discharge arrows and to engage in the fight ; and for the right and left (wings) to advance and join battle with him. The turning parties wheeled round and began to rain down arrows. Mahdī Khwāja was the first of the left to engage ; he was faced by a troop having an elephant with it ; his men's flights of arrows forced it to retire. To reinforce the left I sent secretary Ahmadi and also Qūj Bēg's Tardi Bēg and Khalifa's Muhibb-i-'Alī. On the right also there was some stubborn fighting ; orders were given for Muhammadi Kukuldāsh Shāh Mansūr Barlās, Yūnus-i-'Alī and 'Abdullāh to engage those facing them in front of the centre. From that same position Ustād Qulī made good discharge of firing shots. Muṣṭafa, the commissary of his part, made excellent discharge of Darb-Zan shots from the left hand of the centre. Our right, left, centre, and turning-parties having surrounded the enemy,

1. Khāfi Khān, Vol. II, pp. 925, 26, 27.

rained arrows down on him and fought ungrudgingly. He made one or two small charges on our right and left, but under our men's arrows fell back on his own centre. His right and left hands were massed in such a crowd that they could neither move forward against us nor force a way for flight."¹ Again in the second battle of Panipat, Akbar's archers created much confusion in Hēmū's army. Abu'l-Fadl writes that "bands of devoted archers came forward on all sides and did yeoman's service." And he adds further, "Suddenly, in the midst of the contest, an arrow from the banded bow of Divine wrath reached Hēmū's eye, and piercing the socket, came out at the back of his head."² As soon as Hēmū was wounded, he was captured, and the fortune of the battle ended in Akbar's favour. Again, when Bairam Khān made a bid for the throne of India, he filed his troops against Akbar's army at Gunachur (Punjab). Between the two forces there was a rice-bottom, and as the operation began, Bairam's elephants, which were his mainstay, came into that bog and stuck there. The archers of the imperial troops took advantage of the situation and shot arrows incessantly at the elephants. One of the arrows hit the driver of the leading elephant and he hung down from the animal's neck. When Bairam Khān saw the miserable plight of his elephants, he sought to come out by their rear, leaving the rice-bottom on his right, and to get to the dry land and make his attack. But this manœuvre was frustrated by the foresight and courage of one of Akbar's generals, Atka Khān.³

In 1035 Mahābat Khān projected a *coup de main* and took Jahāngīr prisoner when the latter was crossing the Jhelum on his way to Kabul from Kashmir. All the attendants, officers, and domestics of Jahāngīr had passed over the bridge to the other side of the river. Jahāngīr, along with Nūr Jahān and a few servants and eunuchs, alone remained in the camp to cross next morning. Mahābat Khān formed the bold design of capturing the emperor with the help of a detachment of four or five thousand Rajputs, who had sworn fidelity to him. But they missed Nūr Jahān, who passed over the river, and sternly upbraided all the chiefs and nobles, and then arranged to deliver an attack on Mahābat Khān and rescue her husband. Fidā'i Khān, on the receipt of the news of his royal master's capture, mounted his horse and rode down to the river. But the bridge had been burnt and there was no means of passing over. Having no other resource, Fidā'i Khān, with a few of his faithful followers, rode into the river opposite the Imperial camp, and tried to cross over by swimming. The rapid current swept away six of the men with their horses, and others, owing to the coldness of the water, were unable to proceed and returned to land half dead. But Fidā'i Khān and seven others, leaving their horses to perish, swam gallantly across to the opposite bank under a heavy volley of arrows from the Rajput soldiers. Four of Fidā'i

1. *Bābur Nāma* translated by A. S. Beveridge, Vol. II, pp. 473, 474.

2. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. II, p. 40.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

Khān's companions were killed, and when he saw that the enemy was too strong, and that his efforts to reach the abode of his royal master must fail, he fell back and repassed the river with the same dash and spirit as that with which he had crossed it. Next morning the whole army moved down to the attack. It was headed by Nūr Jahān herself, who was seated on an elephant with a bow, two quivers of arrows, and a gun. She was accompanied by Shahryār's infant daughter and her nurse. The imperialists proceeded to cross the river, but the ford by which they chose their route proved impassable, and before they reached the middle of the stream they lost their order and discipline on account of deep water and large shoals and dangerous pools. In this confusion each party got over as best it could. But some of them, along with the elephant-litter of Nūr Jahān, landed in front of a strong party of the enemy, which held the bank with their elephants posted in front. The enemy discharged arrows and flung cannon-balls and rockets at the imperialist but the latter were undaunted and reached the beach in their drenched clothes and armour. Here a hand-to-hand contest took place, and the water of the stream was tinged with blood. The Rajputs were pouring down showers of balls, arrows and rockets on the troops in the ford, and the most furious assault was directed on Nūr Jahān. Balls and arrows fell thick round her elephant. An arrow struck the arm of Shahryār's infant daughter, but Nūr Jahān pulled it out, staining her garments with blood. Her elephant received two sword cuts on the trunk and when it turned round it was again wounded twice or thrice behind with spears. The driver urged the beast into the deep water. The Rajputs followed it into the stream, but turned back for fear of being drowned. The elephant, after several plunges, swam out and reached the shore, where Nūr Jahān's maids found her howdah stained with blood from the shots of arrows. While Nūr Jahān's assault was thus disastrously repelled, Fidā'i Khān once more made a highly bold attempt to reach the emperor's abode. With a small party, he swam across the river and valiantly attacked the force which he found opposed to him. He drove back the enemy and forced his way to Shahryār's house, where the Emperor was staying as a captive. Fidā'i Khān made a still more gallant attempt to enter into the interior of the Emperor's residence, which was vigilantly guarded. "So Fidā'i Khān," writes the author of *Iqbāl Nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, "stopped at the entrance, and sent a discharge of arrows inside. Some of the arrows fell in the courtyard of the private apartments near His Majesty, when Mukhlīs Khān placed himself before the throne and made his body a shield for the protection of the Emperor. Fidā'i Khān persevered for sometime in his efforts, but several of his followers were killed, others were severely wounded, and the Khān's own horse received four wounds. When he found that he could not succeed and that there was no chance of reaching the emperor, he passed through the camp and went up the river."¹

1. *Iqbāl Nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 260, 64; *Ma'dhīr-ul-Umarā*, Vol. IV, pp. 14, 15; *Khāfi Khān*, Vol. I, pp. 366-68; *Elliot*, Vol. VI, pp. 424-28.

When a Mughal prince or any officer of the Mughal army conducted a battle sitting on an elephant, his usual weapons were bows and arrows, and he thought it undignified, disgraceful and dishonourable to retire from the field after being wounded by an arrow. Murād's chivalrous resistance of the impetuous onslaught of Dārā's archers in the battle of Samugarh is ever to be regarded as an exhibition of wonderful bravery and exquisite skill. While the battle was at its hottest, four thousand Uzbeks poured rapid flights of arrows on Murād's elephant, until the howdah bristled with arrows like the back of a porcupine. But Murād bore this formidable attack patiently and gloriously. He retaliated by discharging the arrows from his own quivers, and when the driver of his elephant was killed, he ordered a chain to be cast round the animal's legs, thus cutting off the power of retreat for himself. The Rajputs dashed forward and one of their chiefs charged upon Murād's elephant, crying out defiantly, "What, do you contest the throne with Dārā Shikoh?" and hurled his javelin at the prince, who received it on his shield and nearly at the same moment laid the Rajput chief dead with an arrow shot at point blank range. Seeing their chief fall dead, other Rajputs swarmed round the prince's elephant and fought desperately. The prince received three wounds in his face, still he defended himself with extraordinary valour and skill, and the Rajputs were victims to his arrows in such a large number that the ground round his elephant looked 'yellow like a field of saffron.' The howdah of Murād's elephant was long afterwards preserved in the store-room of Delhi Fort as a curiosity and memorial of the heroism and bravery of the race of Timūr. And when the Sayyids of Barha gave trouble to the descendants of Timūr in Farrukh Siyar's days, Farrukh Siyar's sister defied their authority by saying that the members of her family still gloried in the memory of Murād's tenacious fight at Samugarh.¹

Again, in the battle of Jajall, Prince A'zam Shāh was struck several times by arrows, but he paid no heed to the wounds and kept on fighting heroically, until a musket-ball struck him on the forehead and killed him. His son, Bidār Bakht, also participated in the battle, having his quiver at his back and his bow on his arm. He was severely wounded by several arrows, but remained undaunted. At length a ball from a swivel gun killed him. In the same battle, Prince 'Azīm-ush-Shāh was fighting on behalf of his father Bahādur Shāh, when Khān 'Ālam Dakhinī and Muna-war Khān, who were noted for breaking up the files of their enemy, drove their elephants sharply up alongside the animal ridden by 'Azīm-ush-Shāh and aimed thrice at the prince with spears, but the prince remained un-hurt. Khān 'Ālam tried to jump over the prince's howdah, but the latter shot an arrow full in his breast and killed him. Seeing his brother slain, Munawar hurled his javelin at the prince, who retaliated with his own spear very promptly, and then a rocket-ball made a sudden end of Munawar Khān.²

1. Khafi Khān, Vol. II, p. 30.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 590, 591.

Later on, when Bāhādūr Shāh and Kām Bakhsh arrayed their troops against each other near Hyderabad, Kām Bakhsh was severely wounded in the course of hostilities. But he was regardless of his wound, and "used his bow so well in the face of three thousand foes that a terror fell upon them and they were nearly taking flight. He emptied two quivers and wounded and brought down many men, but loss of blood from his many wounds prevailed ; he lost his strength and the enemy surrounded his elephant and made him prisoner. His youngest son, who was on the same elephant, was also made prisoner after receiving four or five severe wounds. Muhi-us-Sunnat, the eldest son, fought bravely. The drivers and others on his elephant fell wounded one after another. He then drove the animal himself, but fell in the howdah wounded with balls and arrows."¹

In 1124 A.H. when Farrukh Siyar's troops confronted Jahāndār's army near Agra, Sayyid Hussain 'Alī Khān and Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān performed extraordinary deeds of valour in the battle which they fought on behalf of Farrukh Siyar. When Farrukh Siyar's army was pressed hard by the enemy, Sayyid Hussain 'Alī Khān resorted to the custom of Indian heroes in the sorest straits. He got down from his elephant, and continued to fight on foot, sword in hand. The Tūrānī archers from the enemy's ranks wheeled round and reached Sayyid Hussain 'Alī Khān's rear, and wounded him so severely that he fell to the ground and fainted. The Barha Sayyids closed round him and defended his body frantically till they were cut down themselves. On the other side of the field, Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān also could not stem the torrential attack of the Tūrānī bowmen, and when he was trying to swerve from his position, 'Abdul-Ghaffār Khān, who fought on behalf of Jahāndār Shāh, struggled hard to reach Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān's elephant. As soon as he overtook the beast, he shot an arrow at 'Abdullāh, but the latter very dexterously made a prompt reply from his bow, and the two arrows, hurled from opposite directions, met and fell into pieces in the air. Sayyid 'Abdullāh took the earliest opportunity to shoot another arrow, which pushed back 'Abdul-Ghaffār Khān. Just at this juncture Sayyid 'Abdullāh received fresh troops, who attacked Jahāndār Shāh's elephant, bearing his women, with clouds of arrows. The elephant receiving several wounds in the head, grew uncontrollable and rushed first in one direction and then in another.²

The Uzbēks and the Tūrānīs were regarded as being very expert and skilled in archery. It was popularly said that every arrow shot by a Tūrānī Bowman emptied a saddle. The Afghans were noted for their heroic defence against the attack of hostile archers. In the battle fought between Jahāndār Shāh and 'Azīm-ush-Shāh near Lahore, the Afghan soldiers of the latter treated the showers of arrows as if they were being pelted with flowers. A Mughal prince was given a highly efficient training in

1. Khāfi Khān, Vol. II, pp. 623-25 ; Elliot VII, p. 407.

2. *Ibid.* pp. 702, 703 ; *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. p. 323, and Vol. III, pp. 133, 134.

archery. Jahāngīr had superb skill in the art. He very often killed a wolf by a single shot from his bow, although it was popularly known that a wolf is not killed even if it receives twenty or thirty arrows.¹ 'Ālamgīr's special instruction to his eldest son Sultān Muḥammad was to practise archery daily for two hours (Ghāri).²

The sword was the most indispensable weapon for a warrior. It was used freely when the rival combatants met in a hand-to-hand contest. Intrinsic heroism was judged by the willingness to fight with swords. In the second battle of Qandhar, the mainstay of the Persian army was the fire-arms, but Shāh Jahān's soldiers scoffed at the Persian troopers for declining sword-combats with the cavaliers of Hindustan. In the battle of Jajau, A'zam Shāh relied much on his personal valour and prided himself on his swordsmanship, and so he said boastfully that an artillery fight was a stripling's pastime and that the only real weapon was the sword.

When a battle raged fiercely, bold warriors exhibited their extraordinary bravery and chivalry by flinging themselves into the mêlée from their elephants and horses, and fighting on foot. They bound themselves together by the skirts of their long coats and attacked the enemy with swords, dealing blows about themselves without caring for their own lives. In the battle of Dharmaut, when Jaswant Singh's troops pressed Aurangzēb's army hard, Dhu'l-Fiqār Khān, the commander of Aurangzēb's front division of the Van felt that the crisis of the battle had come, and that he must do something to break the enemy's attack. So he at once jumped out of his horse with a drawn sword in his hand, and stood on the ground fighting like an incarnation of valour and gallantry. He received several wounds, but disdained to be driven back by the enemy.³

A similar heroic sacrifice was made by Mukhtār Khān, when he fought on behalf of 'Ażīm-ush-Shāh against Jahān Shāh. The Sayyids of Barha gained much reputation for such tactics. In the battle of Agra, when Sayyid Ḥussain 'Alī Khān, as has been mentioned earlier, found his army in the throes of death, he did not want to sell his life cheaply, so in a spirit of defiance he alighted from his elephant, and stood fast on foot in the centre of the carnage, and, showing great skill in swordsmanship, fought with the valour of despair until he fell to the ground and fainted. Again, Qutb-ul-Mulk Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān made a still more gallant and glorious end on the battle-field of Hasanpur. When the contest between the hostile armies reached its climax, Sayyid 'Abdullāh dismounted from his elephant and posted himself firm on the ground, bare-headed and bare-footed. He stood like a lion and wielded his sword valiantly, and though he was enveloped on every side by a crowd of assailants no one had the courage to lay hands upon him. But when a large number

1 *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 375.

2 *Ruqā'at-i-'Ālamgīrī*, Ma'ārif Press, p. 271.

3 *'Ālamgīr Nāma*, p. 67.

of his opponents had fallen victims to his sword, he was struck in the forehead by an arrow shot at long range. This wounded him severely, and he succumbed to the inconstancy of Fortune."¹

The chief merit of a swordsman lay in the swiftness of his movements, the alertness of his mind, and the strength of his strokes. Akbar killed a lion with one stroke of his sword,² and Prince Aurangzēb, while yet a boy of fourteen, hurled back a raging elephant with smart strokes of his sword.³ A cavalier attacked an elephant by wheeling round it. The chopping off of an elephant's trunk and the slashing of its leg by a stroke of the sword were ordinary facts of swordsmanship.⁴

The spear or Javelin or lance or Barchha was also an important offensive weapon, which was much favoured by the Rajput horsemen. The Muslim cavaliers also used it in emergency. It was of great use in stopping a hostile horseman at a closer distance, and overthrowing him from the saddle.⁵ It was also utilised in wounding an elephant⁶ and hurling its riders down to the ground.⁷ A very uncommon use of the spear was made by one of Nādir Shāh's soldiers in the battle of Karnal. In the thick of the battle, he galloped up to the elephant of one of Muhammad Shāh's generals, Sa'ādat Khān, and then drove his spear into the ground and the reins of his horse round it, and climbed up to Sa'ādat Khān's howdah by the rope hanging down from it.⁸

Other minor offensive weapons were Jamdhar (broad daggers) Khanjar, (a poignard with bent blade), Khapwa, Gurz (club), Tabar (Axe), etc. These were used on rare occasions in individual fights or hand-to-hand encounters.

5. TRICKS AND STRATAGEMS

THE most outstanding stratagem was that troops pretended to fly and then, when the enemy had pursued them for some distance, turned round and attacked the foe. This trick was practised both in pre-Mughal and Mughal periods. Mu'iz-ud-Din Sām, better known as Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ghori, gained a victory over Raja Pithaura by employing the same tactics.⁹ Firōz Shāh Tughluq, in his first battle against Shams-ud-Dīn in Lakhnauti, fell a few miles back strategically. The enemy thought that the Sultān was in full retreat, and so they brought their forces out

1. Khāfi Khān, Vol. II, p. 932; *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhirin*, Vol. II, pp. 440, 41.

2. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. II, p. 144.

3. Bādshāh Nāma, Vol. I, pp. 489, 90.

4. For instances vide *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 103, 104; *Amal-i-Sāhib* Vol. II, p. 536.

5. For instance vide *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, p. 15.

6. For instances vide *Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 340; *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol. I, pp. 489-95. Khāfi Khān, Vol. I, p. 474.

7. For instances vide Khāfi Khān, Vol. II, pp. 27, 591.

8. *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhirin*, Vol. II, p. 483.

9. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 120.

of their stronghold and pursued the imperial troops, but had to suffer reverses.¹ Again, when Shér Khān fought at Surajgarh against Ibrāhim Khān, who had under him a large Bengal army, he (Shér Khān) employed the same hoax. Before he commenced the actual operation he gave the following instructions to his chiefs saying : " In the enemy's army there are many elephants and guns, and a great force of infantry ; we must fight them in such a manner that they shall not be able to preserve their original order. The Bengali cavalry should be drawn away from their guns and infantry and the horses intermingled with the elephants, so that army may be disordered. I have thought of a stratagem by which to defeat the Bengalis. I will draw up the great part of my forces behind the cover of that height which we see, but will retain for the attack a small number of experienced and veteran horsemen. Now they will fight exactly in the same manner as they did on the former occasion without any expectation of defeat. I will bring up my select division, who, after discharging one flight of arrows into the Bengali army, shall retreat. Ibrāhim Khān, who is presumptuous on account of his superior force, will think the Afghāns are beginning to fly, and becoming eager he will leave his artillery and foot in the rear, and press on with all expedition himself, and disorder and confusion will find their way into his order of battle. I will then bring out my force, which had been concealed behind the eminence, and will attack the enemy. The Bengali cavalry, deprived of the support of their artillery and infantry, will by themselves be unable to cope with the Afghān horses." This device was accordingly executed, and the Bengali cavalry, just as Shér Khān anticipated, fell into the trap.² In the 19th year of Akbar's reign, his troops fought against Dā'ūd in Bengal. During the course of the battle, Dā'ūd disconcerted the vanguard Altamash and centre of the imperialists, who were put to flight. But Dā'ūd thought this flight was a trick of the imperial forces, so he did not pursue them. Meanwhile the right wing of the imperial troops came to their aid and Dā'ūd's victory was turned into unexpected defeat.³

The Mughal emperors did not indulge in this pretentious form of fighting, so we do not find that the imperial armies ever resorted to such tactics. In the battle of Karnāl, Nādir Shāh's " Persian scouts pretended flight, turning back in their saddles and discharging their bows and muskets while galloping in the manner of their Parthian ancestors." Muḥammad Shāh's soldiers pursued them until they reached an ambush, where Nādir Shāh's gunners assailed them by the discharge of many hundred swivel-guns at point-blank range. This stratagem was generally manœuvred with great skill and care, for when the flying army turned back to encounter the enemy, it had to fight with redoubled vigour, agility and momentum.

1. *Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhī*, by Shams Surāj 'Afīf, p. 114.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Shér Shāhī* by 'Abbas Khān Sarawānī, in Elliot, Vol. IV, pp. 341-42.

3. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, p. 126.

A surprise attack on the enemy's camp in the small hours of the morning was another stratagem which has been practised ever since human being began to fight battles. But it was always regarded as foul tactics. This night-raid, called *Shab-Khün*, was successfully made only when the enemy's camp was ill-protected and carelessly guarded. The raiders managed to enter stealthily into the opposite camp and then caused every kind of panic and consternation in it. Fakhr Mudabbir, an author of the pre-Mughal period, gives an idea how the *Shab-Khün* was carried out. According to him "the defenders against the night-attack used to divide themselves into four groups : (1) the foot soldiers with bows and arrows, swords, spears and shields, who guarded the entrance to the camp : (2) the right wing and the centre remained quietly at their places, with extinguished lights so that they might not be seen : or they lighted fires at wrong places in order to mislead the invaders and then to surround and kill them : (3) the left wing arranged itself in battle array, ready to meet the attack : (4) a fourth group left the camp and guarded the roads and the neighbourhood in order to prevent any reinforcements from reaching the enemy." The attacker also blocked all the roads of the camp and in confusion shouted deliberately that this great man had been captured and that man had been killed, in order to alarm and dishearten their opponents.¹ *Shab-Khün* (night-attack) was however the stratagem of the inferior and feeble party. The imperial forces of the Sultans of Delhi did not like to adopt this underhand method of attacking the enemy, although they were harassed by similar tactics on the part of their foes. For example, when Muhammad Tughluq was encamped on the bank of the Ganges near Qannauj in order to suppress the rebellion of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, "the latter," writes Ibn Battūtah, "assailed the vanguard of the royal army in the latter part of the night. Confusion prevailed in the camp, but the Sultan ordered that no person should move from his place, and all of them should take swords in the hands and grapple with the enemy. A bitter fight took place..... 'Ain-ul-Mulk wanted to raid the Sultan's tent, but he was misled by his guide, who pointed to the Wazir's camp."² During the course of preliminary encounters against Ibrāhim Lodi at Pānīpat, Bābur also delivered a night-attack on the former's camp. But he did this against his will. He writes in his *Tuzuk* : "During the seven or eight days while we lay in Pānīpat, our men used to go, a few together, close up to Ibrāhim's camp, rain arrows down on his massed troops, and cut off and bring in heads. Still he made no move : nor did his troops sally out. At length, we acted on the advice of several Hindustani well-wishers and sent out four or five thousand men to deliver a night-attack on his camp..... It being dark they were not able to act together well, and, having scattered, could effect nothing on arrival. They stayed near Ibrāhim's camp till

1. *Ādab-ul-Harb*, quoted in *Islamic Culture*, October 1937.

2. *Safar-Nāma-i-Ibn Battūtah*, Urdu translation, p. 181.

dawn, when the nagarets sounded and his troops came out in array with elephants. Though our men did not do their work, they got off safe and sound, not a man of them was killed, though they were in touch with such a mass of foes."¹ Shér Khán (afterwards Shér Shāh) accomplished a great tactical ruse at the battle of Chaunsa. When he lay encamped for three months against Humāyūn, he misled the Mughal Emperor by organising a pseudo-campaign against the Maratha Chero of Shāhābād district of Bihār. After going ahead for two days, he turned back his army at the distance of twenty-five miles from the imperial encampment and then marched speedily and secretly towards it. The Mughal troops were quite off their guard, and were enjoying pleasant slumber in the coolness of the night when the Afghāns fell suddenly upon them. They found no time to "buckle their saddles and close their cuirasses" so they were utterly scattered. Humāyūn failed to rally his forces and face the Afghān attack. He fled from the field, leaving his family at the mercy of his enemies.² Akbar sneered at the very idea of a night-attack. In one of his battles against Ibrāhīm Hussain Mirzā near the river Mahendri at the ford of Bikanir, between Ahmadābād and Baroda, Akbar had not many troops with him. So one of his generals Jalāl said to him, "Our troops have not come up yet, and the enemy is in full force. When we are so few in number it is not advisable to engage in daylight with so many. The proper thing is to halt awhile and make night-attack." But Akbar did not approve of a night-attack, which according to him was a form of deception and fraud, so he encouraged his soldiers by saying, "Courage is a helper and many cowards become brave men out of shame. It is far better not to put off the work of day till the night, and to fight with the smartness and alacrity that we are marching with." He added further, "Friends! be stout-hearted and let each one overthrow a foeman."³ He dismissed with contempt a similar suggestion when he was engaged against Muhammad Husain Mirzā at Ahmadabad. Abu'l-Fadl in one of his verses calls a night-attack 'the trade of cowards, disdained by heroes.'⁴ Jahāngīr also agreed with his father in characterising the Shab-Khūn as "the business of the feeble-hearted and device of mischievous ones."⁵ But the Mughal army took special care to protect itself from the night-attacks of the enemy by strengthening barricades, erecting earthen wall and digging trenches round its camps.⁶

S. SABAHUDDIN.

(Concluded).

1. Bābur Nāma (A.S. Beveridge) Vol. II, p. 471.

2. Tārīkh-i-Shér Shāhī, by 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī in Elliot, Vol. IV, pp. 374, 375.

3. Akbar Nāma, Vol. III, p. 13, and the English translation by H. Beveridge, pp. 18, 19.

4. Ibid., p. 51.

5. Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, p. 19.

6. Akbar Nāma, Vol. III, pp. 425, 835; Bādshāh Nāma, Vol. III, p. 249.

NOTES ON THE ARAB CALENDAR BEFORE ISLAM

[This treatise is an English translation of the famous article of Caussin de Perceval which appeared in the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris more than a hundred years ago, i.e. in April 1843. The title of the article in French was " Memoire Sur Le Calendrier Arab Avant L'Islamisme " and has been translated as " Notes on the Arab Calendar Before Islam " by Rev. Bro. Louis Nobiron of St. Patrick's School, Secunderabad, at the request of Dr. Amir Ali. This article is published here in view of its importance for research scholars.]

ED., I.C.

IT is a well-known fact that the names of the months of the lunar year of Muhammedans, which are :— Muḥarram, Ṣafar, Rabi' I, Rabi' II, Jumādā I, Jumādā II, Rajab, Sha'bān, Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, Dhu'l-Qa'da and Dhu'l-Hijja, had been in use among pagan Arabs long before Islam. It is believed that they had been adopted in the time of Kilāb, son of Murra,¹ one of Muhammad's ancestors, that is a little more than two centuries before the Hijra.

Besides, it is known that pagan Arabs regarded four of these months as holy: the first, Muḥarram; the 7th, Rajab; the 11th, Dhu'l-Qa'da; and the 12th, Dhu'l-Hijja, during which it was forbidden to make war and have recourse to any hostile act whatsoever. It was a kind of " truce of God," wisely instituted for a people eager for war, pillage and vengeance. It contributed to the preservation of the tribes always intent on internecine destruction, and also provided commerce with some fixed intervals of security.

The names of these four holy months indicated their character. Muḥarram means holy or inviolable. The word Rajab expresses ideas of fear and respect. Dhu'l-Qa'da means month of rest, and Dhu'l-Hijja month of pilgrimage. In fact, it was during the latter month that pagan Arabs performed the Hajj or pilgrimage to the Mecca temple, called the Ka'ba.

In doing so they pretended to follow the example set by Ishmael. The very feast of the pilgrimage, that is the feast of sacrifices, terminating the pilgrimage ceremonies, was from time immemorial held on the 10th day of the 12th month of the year.

The names of the other eight months had also their own significance. Nowadays it is rather difficult to determine exactly the idea which the designations: Ṣafar, Sha'bān, Shawwāl, were meant to convey, but the meaning of the other five designations can easily be ascertained.

¹ Mas'ūdi, quoted by Golius. Notice in Alferg, p. 4.

Rabi' means verdure, vernal rain ; the two Rabi' must originally have been months of rain, vegetation, spring. The two Jumādā come immediately after the two Rabi'. Some writers bearing in mind only the idea of intense cold and freezing derived from various derivatives of the root Jamād, think that the names of these months had been transposed,¹ but this hypothesis lacks plausibility ; or else that the two Jumādā were winter months, and so the two Rabi' which preceded them must have been autumn months.² The meaning of the word Rabi' might in truth lend itself to this interpretation, but this hypothesis fails, in fact, as will be seen later on, to correspond to the position of the month of Ramadān and that of Dhu'l-Hijja, the latter corresponding to the fruit season. Moreover, freezing and intense cold are practically unknown in Arabia and the designation of the months of Jumādā makes it easy to establish an origin more likely and perfectly compatible with the place assigned to them.

The root *Jamad* contains notions of drought, cessation of rain ; the word *Jamād* جَمَادٌ, for instance, means : ground which has not been watered, or a rainless year. The word *Jumādā* جَمَادَةٌ, itself is used to denote a dry eye, tearless eye. Is it not probable that the word *Jumādā* may originally have indicated that season when rains ceased and drought began to be felt ? This interpretation will fully justify the position of the two Jumādā just after the two Rabi', months of rain and vegetation.

Ramadān means intense heat. This designation must surely have been created to apply to one of the hottest months of the year, a fact quite in keeping with the place occupied by Ramadān, which comes two months after the 2nd Jumādā.

From this it can be seen that the names of these five months : the two Rabi', the two Jumādā and Ramadān, had a definite connection with the seasons. So we can infer that when the pagan Arabs adopted these names, they had a system of years which was not purely lunar. For the lunar year, being about 11 days shorter than the solar year, gains more than one month on the solar year in the space of three years, and more than one season in the space of nine years.

So if the pagan Arabs had been using a purely lunar calendar, the connection between the names of these months and the seasons would soon have been out of joint and a hopeless muddle would have ensued.

Consequently one may naturally surmise that the Arabs created these designations for a system of solar years, or at least luni-solar years. The first of these two hypotheses appears utterly untenable : it is useless to dwell on it. The second on the other hand, is based on certain and positive evidence.

It is apparent that in ancient times the year of the Arabs was primarily the vague lunar year. Their months had no permanent connection with

1. *Mas'ūdī*; see notes on *Muṭūj*, by M. Deguignes. Notices and extracts from Manuscripts, Vol. I, p. 35.

2. *Kitab al-Āthār* of al-Bīrūnī, Manuscript of the Arsenal Library, fol. 102 V^o and 109.

the changes due to temperature; and their designations¹ were different from those we have mentioned. The beginnings of their years, and the dates of their pilgrimage festivals, being brought forward 11 days every year revolved round the seasons in successive years.

When the pilgrimage fell at a time when the harvests of the current year had not yet been got in and when those of the preceding year had nearly all been consumed, the pilgrims were hard put to it to procure provisions, both during their journey and during their stay at Mecca and in various neighbouring localities where annual fairs were held in connection with the festival. It was deemed necessary to remedy this anomaly and to fix the date of the pilgrimage, writes Muhammad Jarkasi,² at a time when grain, fruit and other commodities were easily available, i.e., in Autumn. For this purpose, the Arabs used a certain process of embolism or intercalation taught them by the Jews settled at Yathrib (later called Medina). They kept their lunar months, but from time to time, intercalated a year with 13 months instead of 12. 'Masūdī,³ al-Bīrūnī,⁴ Maqrīzī,⁵ Abu'l-Fidā,⁶ Hājī Khalifa and other oriental writers confirm this assertion. By means of an embolistic year, repeated from time to time, the Arab calendar became luni-solar; their months had a tendency always to correspond as nearly as possible to the various seasons and there is a strong probability that the practice of intercalation and the twelve designations of months: Muharram, Ṣafar, Rabi', etc., five of which bear a striking analogy with the seasons, must have been adopted simultaneously. This may be inferred from the comparison of the opinions held by various writers concerning the date of the introduction, among the Arabs, either of the process of embolism or of the designation of the months. Maqrīzī and Muhammad Jarkasi time the introduction of embolism about 200 years before the preaching of Muhammad; this is the time given by Mas'ūdī and others to these designations of months.

Those among Muslim writers who are agreed upon attributing to the pagan Arabs who lived within the period of two centuries before Islam the use of a luni-solar calendar, show a marked divergence of opinion concerning the manner in which the Arabs practised embolism. Mas'ūdī and Abu'l-Fidā state that one month was added every third year. According to Hājī Khalifa,⁷ 7 months were intercalated in a period of 19 years; according to al-Bīrūnī, Maqrīzī and Muhammad Jarkasi, 9 months in a period of 24 years. I shall soon examine which of these opinions is the most tenable.⁷

1. Mas'ūdī: *Murūj*. See Notes and extracts from manuscripts, Vol. I, p. 35. Hājī Khalifa, *Taqūm at-Tawārīkh*, p. 8.

2. *Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, Vol. LXVIII, p. 618.

3. *Mémoires de l'Academie des Ins.* Vol. LXVIII, p. 616.

4. *Kitāb al-Āthār*.

5. *Mémoires de l'Academie*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 616.

6. *Historia antieislamitica*, edition Fleischer, p. 180.

7. *Taqūm at-Tawārīkh*, p. 8.

Be it as it may, whether the Arabs used a period of 3, 19 or 24 years, one is led to think that they did not insert a month in the course of a year, as the Romans did before Julius Cæsar, but that they added one month at the end of a year, as was practised by the Jews from whom they had adopted the intercalary system.

In their embolismic year the Jews counted a month called "Veadar," after the month of "Adar," the 12th month of their religious year. In the same manner, the Arabs, at the end of a certain number of lunar years, had to insert an extra month between the month of Dhu'l-Hijja, 12th month of the expiring year, and the month of Muḥarram, the 1st of the incoming year. According to Mas'ūdi, Maqrīzī, Muḥammad Jarkasī¹ and al-Bīrūnī, this extra or intercalary month and the intercalation itself were called *nāsī* ناسی by the Arabs; the word means "late," no doubt because the intercalation effected at the end of a year retarded by one lunar month of Muḥarram, which began the following year and with it the whole series of months of that same year.

According to the same writers the work of settling the intercalation and proclaiming the intercalary month was entrusted to some men called *nās'āt* ناسات (singular *nāsī* ناسی). It is to be noticed that the Jews gave the nearly identical name of *Nasi* (נָסִי) to the president of their Sanhedrin,² some members of that body being deputed to find out to which year a 13th month was to be added.

The Arab *nās'āt*, or at least some of those who originally discharged this office, appear to have been decorated with the title of *Qalammās*, قلامس, a word which means³ rough sea, and metaphorically, a skilful man, a man of high attainments, a sea of science, so to say. The office of *nāsī* was confined by a special privilege to a certain family called the children of 'Abd-Fuqaim.⁴ This family belonged to the Kināna tribe scattered round about Mecca, of which the Quraishites, inhabitants of that city, formed the chief branch.

Mas'ūdi, al-Bīrūnī and Maqrīzī mention the *nāsī* only in connection with intercalation or intercalary months, and the office of the *nās'āt* only as determining embolismic years. According to these writers, when in the 10th year of the Hijra (632 A.D.), Muḥammad, in a speech to the assembled people, abolished the *nāsī*, he also did away with the intercalary system and re-established the vague lunar calendar. Abu'l-Fidā is of the same opinion.

On the other hand, some writers like Ibn-Ishāq, Firūzābādī, Jawāhīrī, Baīdāwī and Jalāl-ud-Dīn, make no mention whatever of intercalation and explain the word *nāsī* as merely meaning the postponing of the observance

1. See passages of these writers in *Mémoire* of M. de Sacy, Vol. XLVIII, (*Mémoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, pp. 6, 6, 6, 8).

2. *Dictionnaire de Castel: Art de vérifier les dates*, I, p. 84.

3. Reland, *Antiq. Sac.* Vet, hebræor; edit. de Hale, p. 205.

4. *Sīrat ar-Rasūl*, fol. 7ve.

of a holy month to another month.¹

The interdiction of war during the month of Muḥarram coming immediately after two holy months *Dhu'l-Qa'da* and *Dhu'l-Hijja* of the preceding year, acted, says *Jawhīrī*,² as an unbearable restraint upon the Arabs who lived and thrived on raids. To satisfy their bellicose ardour, the *nas'at* sometimes transferred the privilege of Muḥarram to the following month, Ṣafar; that is, declared Muḥarram profane, and Ṣafar holy. This declaration was made towards the end of the pilgrimage ceremonies, when the pilgrims were about to leave Minā.

Firūzābādī affirms that the *nas'at* could also transfer that privilege from *Rajab* to *Sha'bān*.³ This assertion is not corroborated by any evidence and appears to me somewhat hazardous. The observance of *Rajab*, isolated in the middle of the year, must have caused little worry among the Arabs. Besides, the *nasi* was proclaimed during the course of *Dhu'l-Hijja* and one fails to see why the *nas'at* should have decided, six months beforehand, that the inviolability of *Rajab* should be transferred to *Sha'bān*. The opinion of *Firūzābādī*, which is at variance on this point with that of *Jawhīrī*, is further contradicted by the following passage from *Ibn-Ishāq*, quoted in the *Sīrat-ur-Rasūl*⁴: "When the Arabs had ended their pilgrimage, they gathered round the *nasi*; the latter declared holy the 4 months of Muḥarram, *Rajab*, *Dhu'l-Qa'da* and *Dhu'l-Hijja*; and if he wished to make one of them profane, it was Muḥarram, the observance of which he transferred to Ṣafar. So the Arabs held Muḥarram profane, but respected Ṣafar; in this manner the number of holy months was always four."⁵

This divergence of view among writers who attach the same meaning to the word *nāsī* is of little importance; what is important to notice is the divergence of opinion which exists, at least apparently, between writers who attribute to the pagan Arabs the practice of embolism, the use of a luni-solar system, and those who, totally ignoring intercalation, state that the *nāsī* merely consisted in transferring the observance of a holy month to another month, thus giving rise to the supposition that, in their opinion, the Arabs always observed the pure lunar calendar. Muḥammad Jarkāsī uses the word *nasi* to designate both the intercalation and the transfer of the inviolability of a holy month. After stating that the pagan Arabs had adopted from the year of Yathrib the process of *nasi* or intercalation, he adds: "The first among the Arabs to practise the *nasi* (intercalation)

1. *Mémoire de M. de Sacy, Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, Vol. XLVIII p. 613-615.

2. *Ibid.* p. 615.

3. In the text of *Firūzābādī*, quoted at the end of the *Mémoire* of M. de Sacy, p. 756, one must read *احتلت الصفرة* instead of *احتلت اول الصفرة*.

4. كاتب العرب ادأ فرغت من حتها اجتمعوا الى الناسي فحرم الا شهر الحرم ورحباً وهذا القصة.

وذا الحجة فاذا اراد ان يحل منها شيئاً اصل الحرم فاطلبه ورسم مكانه صفراء فرميوا لبوا طيوراً عددة الا شهر

الا شهر الحرم (سيدة الرسول لابن هشام، ورقة انتسابية ٧ بـ)

was, it is said, Sarīr, son of Tha'laba. His nephew, the Qalammas 'Adī, son of 'Amīr, succeeded him in this office and had for successor his grandson Hudhaifa. The latter was the first to embody in the *nāsī* the power to transfer the holy character of one month to another month."¹

Thus, the *nāsī*, according to Muḥammad Jarkasī, were invested with two functions intimately connected and even fusing one into the other, under a certain aspect. For whether after several lunar years, they intercalated one month between Dhu'l-Hijja and Muḥarram, or, during a series of lunar years without embolism, they transferred the privilege of Muḥarram to Ṣafar, they, too, were making a *nāsī*, a postponement of a holy month to a later date: 29 or 30 days later. All are agreed that *nāsī* means retardation *نَسْيَةٌ*. If we concede to Jawhārī, Baiḍāwī, etc. that the word *nāsī* was more specially used to designate the postponing of the observance of Muḥarram, by the transfer of the inviolable character of this month, we readily realize, however, that the same word may also have meant the embolism, considered as retardation in the observance of Muḥarram by the intercalation of a lunar month placed immediately before.

This manner of envisaging facts is the only way to arrive at a satisfactory understanding among writers on the subject, for, after all, their various opinions present no glaring contradiction. Some do not positively reject what others put forward, they merely do not mention it, and this omission is far from being equivalent to a flat contradiction. So I believe that all these opinions can be reconciled and consequently the fact stands out that the pagan Arabs, after having long used the vague lunar year, adopted a certain embolistic system destined to render their calendar luni-solar; further it sometimes happened that in a series of years without intercalation, they transferred to Ṣafar the holy character belonging to Muḥarram. This opinion has already been put forward, without discussion, by Gagnier and other European writers. A famous savant, Mr. de Sacy, has expressed another opinion which I shall examine later on. But I wish to reproduce here the speech in which Muḥammad abolished the *nāsī*, which speech is found verbatim in the ninth chapter of the Qur'ān. The text of that speech seems to tally exactly with my own opinion and this will appear from my commentary on the words of the apostle of Islam.

Muḥammad, after having solemnly performed the pilgrimage ceremonies (about 3 months before his death), stopped on Mount 'Arafāt and thus spoke to the multitude that pressed around him:

'Oh you, men, listen to my words, for I do not know whether another year will be given me to meet you in this place. No doubt the *nāsī* (the adding of one month to the lunar year, or the transferring of the privilege of Muḥarram to Ṣafar) is an impious practice leading the unbelievers into error. In a certain year, the *nāsī* is allowed (Muhar-

1. See text at the end of the *Mémoire* of M. de Sacy, p. 758.

ram is retarded, either by transposition or by intercalation) ; in another year, the *nasi* is prohibited (no intercalation or transposition is made), so that though one pretends to observe the divine precept, in fact one profanes what God has declared inviolable, and sanctified what God has declared profane. In truth, time, in its revolution, has come back to what it was on the day of the creation of Heaven and Earth." According to Muḥammad Jarkasī and Ibn-al-Athir, Muḥammad means that in that very year the pilgrimage corresponded exactly to the same day, and that the month of Muḥarram which was soon to follow, would begin precisely at the same instant as if, ever since the beginning of things, the course of pure lunar years had never been interrupted by the *nasi*. This assertion was no doubt rather gratuitous, but nobody was in a position to control or verify it, and it motivated the time chosen for re-adopting the old system of purely lunar years.

"In the eyes of God," Muḥammad goes on, "the number of months is twelve (so no more embolismic years with 13 lunar months) ; among these twelve months four are holy, e.g., Rajab of Modhar which stands between Jumāda and Sha'bān, and three other consecutive months ; so no more intercalary month between Dhu'l-Hijja and Muḥarram, no more transferring of inviolability from Muḥarram to Ṣafar, two facts which stand against this consecutive order."¹

M. de Sacy believes, on the authority of Firūzābādī and Jawhārī, and the commentaries of the Qur'ān, Baidāwī and Jalāl-ud-Dīn, that the real and only meaning of *nasi* was : postponement of a holy month to another month, and that Muḥammad in his harangue and in that passage of the Qur'ān where his words are quoted, had only in view the reform of this kind of abuse ; that no word of his has any bearing on intercalation or the use of embolismic years with 13 months among the Arabs. However M. de Sacy could not well set aside the evidence of justly reputed historians like Mas'ūdī, Maqrīzī, Abu'l-Fidā, etc., that is why he grants them some sort of concession : He supposes that a luni-solar system and the use of intercalation had been introduced among the Medina Arabs and others of Yemenic origin, but that the Mecca Arabs and all those of Ma'addic origin had invariably kept the vague lunar system. In confirmation of the use of various calendars among Arabs, he quotes a passage from Maqrīzī where mention is made of a certain method of intercalation peculiar to the inhabitants of Medina. He concludes by saying that there may be some truth in the tradition which attributes to Muḥammad the abolition of intercalation, in the sense that the Prophet, whilst using the vague lunar system along with a part of the Arab nation, forced the other part who had embraced Islam to give up the embolismic system which could but ill accord with the Islamic religion.²

While pondering over this opinion with the attention claimed by the

1. The text of Muḥammad's speech is at the end of the *Mémoire* of M. de Sacy, p. 760.

2. M. de Sacy, *Mémoire*, pp. 622, 625, 626.

writings of such a man as M. de Sacy, a serious consideration appeared to me to be in direct opposition to the hypothesis upheld by this learned man. Indeed, the result would have been that the month of Dhu'l-Hijja and consequently the pilgrimage and the three other holy months would have fallen at different times for the Mecca people and the Medina people, for the Ma'addic race and for some Yemenic races. Such a thing lacks plausibility. There was too much bad blood among the Arab tribes for half of the nation to refrain from war, whilst the other half had a free hand in the matter. Besides, historical accounts establish that the Hajj (حج) pilgrimage took place at the same time for all the Arabs united by the bond of a common faith and the same veneration for the Ka'ba. This epoch was called al-Mausim (ماسمى), or appointed time, precisely because it was common to all. This name was also applied to the very festival of the pilgrimage itself. It was among the large concourse of people drawn to Mecca by this festival, that Muhammad began to preach his doctrine to the various tribes and even made his first Medinan proselytes.¹ The famous 'Ukaz fair which was held in the Course of Dhu'l-Qa'da,² and to which repaired crowds of people from all parts of Arabia, also affords a proof of the simultaneousness of the holy months among the majority of pagan Arabs. Finally, the historians whose evidence shows that embolism was practised by the Arabs are quite positive about this matter, thus leaving no room for suspecting any exception in favour of the large Ma'addic race, an exception they would probably not have omitted if it had existed, notably as regards the Meccan people or Quraishites; for the latter as guardians of the Ka'ba wielded a powerful influence by the mere force of their example.

The passage in which Maqrīzī, after stating that the pagan Arabs in general intercalated 9 months in 24 years, adds that the inhabitants of Medina intercalated one lunar month every 975 days³ (or every 33 months), this passage, I say seemed to me rather suspicious. Later on I came to know that it is altered and incorrect. M. de Sacy had no access to the *Kitāb-al-Āthār* of al-Bīrūnī, a manuscript of the Arsenal Library, which I myself came upon only recently. M. Reinand, whilst perusing this work, noticed some articles relative to the year of the pagan Arabs. Knowing that I was interested in that subject, he was kind enough to communicate them to me. I saw that Maqrīzī had copied word for word all that he relates about this matter.⁴ But owing to a singular error due either to Maqrīzī himself or to his copyists, the use of the intercalation of a lunar month every 33 months is attributed, in the manuscript copy of Maqrīzī used by M. de Sacy, to the inhabitants of Medina, while the original author, al-Bīrūnī, attributes this embolistic method to the peoples of

1. *Abu'l-Fidā* : *Life of Muḥammad* ; translated by M. Noel Desvergers.

2. *Qāmūs*.

3. M. de Sacy's *Mémoire*, p. 626 and text, p. 761.

4. Maqrīzī lived long after al-Bīrūnī. The latter died, according to Hāji-Khalifa, about 430 Hijra (1039 A.D.). Maqrīzī was born about 765 Hijra (1363 A.D.).

India. A further proof that the passage in question really concerns Indians and not the inhabitants of Medina is the following quotation also copied by Maqrīzī: "they call the embolismic year *dimāsa* (دِمَسَةٌ)." But *dimāsa* has no meaning in Arabic. M. Eugène Burnouf informs me that this word may be derived from the Sanskrit compound *dvi-masa*, that is: "which has two months," an expression which can well be applied to an embolismic year with 2 months bearing the same name, just like the embolismic year of the Jews in which, after the month of Adar, a 2nd month or Veadar is added.

So Maqrīzī is clearly in error on this point, and M. de Sacy's hypothesis founded on this very error, recently discovered by mere chance, is no longer tenable. So it must be admitted that all the pagan Arabs had the same calendar, counted the holy months at the same time of the year, and performed the Hajj or pilgrimage at the same epoch. In fact, the difference of opinion on the meaning of the word *nasi* might, by a process of induction somewhat forced, leave room for doubt concerning the question whether they, in fact, always kept the use of the vague lunar year, or whether they followed a luni-solar system during a space of 200 years before Islam; but no middle course is possible and the other alternative must thus be stated. I have already indicated my choice. The opinion of Muhammad Jarkasī, that is the opinion according to which any system of intercalation and luni-solar years, together with the practice of deferring a holy month to another month, was introduced among the pagan Arabs, appears to me the most probable: it seems to accord better than the other opinion with Muhammad's discourse and the passage in the Qur'ān which abolishes the *nasi*; finally it is the only one that explains in a satisfactory manner the connection between the names of the months and the seasons. But here we meet with an objection.

The Arabs had adopted the intercalation with a view to timing their pilgrimage to take place in that season when provisions were abundant, that is in or about autumn, for the fruit harvest, staple food of the Arabs, ends in their country at the beginning of September.¹ How is it, then, that Muhammad's pilgrimage, at the end of the 10th year of the Hijra and during which he abolished the *nasi*, fell about the approach of spring, about March 9, 632 A.D.?

This difficulty, realized by M. Reinaud, led him to suppose (in his work on Arabic, Persian and Turkish monuments)² that the pilgrimage had been fixed by the pagan Arabs at the beginning of spring, an opinion already put forward by Ohsson;³ but this opinion is a mere conjecture not corroborated by any evidence from Arab writers and further discredited by the designation of months relative to the seasons. The respective position of these months shows that *Dhu'l-Hijja*, pilgrimage

1. Buckhardt: *Travels in Arabia*; translated by Eyries, Vol. II, pp. 95 & 124.

2. Vol. I, p. 263.

3. *Tableau de l'empire ottoman*, Vol. III, p. 249.

month, originally corresponded to autumn. The objection still stands. Before stating the manner in which I believe I can meet it, I should like to recall a well-known event which will help a great deal towards solving the puzzle. The Romans used to empower their pontiffs with the right to give their intercalary month, Merkedonius, the length deemed necessary to make their year coincide with the course of the Sun;¹ but the pontiffs performed this office very negligently, so much so that Amyot, the naive translator of Plutarch, states that "there was much confusion in dates, that sacrifices and yearly festivals gradually fell during seasons wholly contrary to the very purpose for which they had been instituted." The Roman year was a whole year behind the tropical year, when Julius Cæsar remedied this state of affairs by giving 445 days to the year of Rome 708, and thus reforming the calendar.²

Something analogous to this must have happened among the pagan Arabs; that is the first idea that comes to the mind. To ascertain its correctness it is necessary, first, to find out the method of embolism used by the *nasa'at*, observing that if they had practised intercalation so as to maintain the pilgrimage in autumn, one would hardly admit that Muhammad would have abolished such a commodious usage, it being his desire to facilitate and not hinder the performing of the pilgrimage, which he made one of the fundamental precepts of his religion. All ancient peoples who had lunar months, have tried, perhaps the Macedonians excepted, according to Champollion-Figeac,³ to adjust their year to the seasons by the use of supplementary months. It was only after many set-backs and fruitless attempts that, having calculated the length of the solar year and that of the lunar year to a certain degree of accuracy, they imagined periods or cycles at the end of which the first lunation of their year coincided, or nearly so, with the tropical year.⁴ These peoples were generally more advanced in astronomical science than the Arabs. The latter observed the heavens, the respective position of the stars which guided them in their nocturnal journeys, the rising and setting of opposite stars for signs of rain. This was called the science of the *Anwā'*⁵ علم الانوار. Their astronomical knowledge went no further. When, al-Birūnī⁶ says, they had calculated that the solar year exceeds the lunar year by 10 days 21 hours 12 minutes, this astronomer, under an illusion born of his own knowledge, lends them scientific attainments which they certainly had not. Far from being able to perform this calculation they had, as far as I am aware, no notion of hours, still less minutes, there is no evidence whatever for believing they had any instruments for measuring the duration of time. They probably measured time approximately as

1. Daunou: *Historical Studies*, Vol. III, p. 168.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

3. *Annales des Lagsdes*, Vol. III, pp. 101.

4. Daunou: *Historical Studies* Vol. III, pp. 153, 155.

5. *Specimen Historioe Arabum*, 2nd edition, p. 7, 168.

6. In the passage copied by Maqrizi, and quoted in the *Mémoire* of M. de Sacy, p. 616.

do modern Bedouins and our own country people, by the mere inspection of sun and stars. They had no other divisions of the day than the 8 divisions designated by the words : al-Fajr, *الفجر*, day-break ; Shuruq ash-Shams شروق الشمس Sunrise ; ad-Duha *الضحا*, forenoon ; az-Zuhur *الظهر*, noon ; al-'Asr *العصر*, afternoon ; al-Ghurub *الغروب*, sunset ; al-'Ishā' *العشاء*, night ; Nisf-al-Lail *نصف الليل* midnight. The prayers instituted by Muhammad imply the ancient existence of at least 5 of these divisions, which, dividing the day into intervals of variable length according to the epoch of the year, have all (8) been kept among Arabs to the present day. These people, as is still done now-a-days, regulated their months on the sensible appearance of the new moon. Such being their simplicity and ignorance, could the Arabs have invented a cycle of 24 years during which they would have intercalated 9 months, as stated by Muhammad Jarkasi and Maqrizi ? Both of them have based this assertion on a passage in the *Kitāb al-Āthār* of al-Bīrūnī ; but this astronomer has nullified it himself in a subsequent passage of his work, as I am going to show.

It must be noticed that the use of this period of 24 years during which intercalation would have been practised 9 times, sometimes after 3 years, sometimes after 2 years,¹ must have resulted in putting the calendar (Arab) 4½ days slow.² Al-Bīrūnī seems to give up the idea that the Arabs ever used that cycle when later on he writes on the *advance* of the calendar : "When the Arabs, on observing the rising and setting of the moon, noticed that in spite of embolism they were about to be one month fast on any season, owing to the accretion of fractions which they had neglected on adding to the lunar year the excess of the solar year, then they made a double intercalation."³

This fails to fit in with the hypothesis of the 24 year cycle and implies the use of a period of 30 years during which a triennial intercalation having been made in the years 3, 6, 9, 12, 15, 18, 21, 24, 27 and 30, the beginning of the 31st year would have been 1 month and a fraction *fast*, if, at the end of the 30th year, a double intercalation had not been made to make up the difference with the course of the sun.

One may see by the divergence of the two methods successively indicated by al-Bīrūnī that this writer has put forward mere conjectures ; he has calculated what the Arabs should have done, but has failed to learn by tradition what they really did.

The same must be said of Hāji Khalifa, according to whom the pagan Arabs had adopted the period of 19 years with an intercalation of 7 months.

1. In the years 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 16, 19, 22, 24.

2. 24 lunar years, with 9 intercalated months, that is :

297 lunations = 8770 days 13 h. 48 m.

24 solar years = 8765 days 19 h. 30 m.

Difference 4 days 18 hrs. 18 m.

3. *Kitāb al-Āthār* MS. of the Arsenal. Here is the text :

فَانْ طَهَرَ لَمْ مَعَ ذَلِكَ تَقْدِمْ شَهْرٌ مِنْ قَصْلِ الْأَرْبَعَةِ لَا يَجْعَلُ مِنْ كَبُورِهِ الشَّمْسُ وَهَقَّةً
فَصَلَ مَا يَنْهَا وَبَنَ سَتَةَ الْقَمَرِ الَّذِي الْمَوْرِهُ بِهَا كَسْوَهَا كَسَا نَبَا وَكَانَ يَنْهَا لَمْ مَعَ ذَلِكَ طَوْلَ مَازِلَ الْقَمَرِ وَسَقْوَهَا

This period, which is nearly exact, was in use among the Jews, and this, no doubt, suggested to Hāji Khalifa the opinion which he puts forward. But the Jews adopted the 19 year cycle only towards the end of the 4th century of the Christian era.¹ That method was still new to them when, at the beginning of the 5th century after Christ, the embolismic system was introduced among the Arabs. Were the Medina Jews who had taught it to them and, being less advanced than those of Palestine, were accustomed like the other Jewish communities living away from Jerusalem to receive from the doctors of that town the indication of the years when embolism² was to be made,³ were those Jews then acquainted with the 19 year theory and were they able to communicate it to the Arabs together with the practice of intercalation? This is rather doubtful. Besides, if the Arabs had regularly followed the period of 24 years, 30 years or 19 years, they would not have been out in their reckoning with the latter; and with any one of the two others, the epoch of their pilgrimage would not have been out of gear with a difference of about 40 days in two centuries; but it happened that it took place not in autumn as originally intended but in spring. So they must have followed some very faulty method.

This method must be the one pointed out by Abu'l-Fidā and Mas'ūdī, the first of Arab authors to treat this matter; I mean the addition of one month at the end of every third lunar year. This small cycle of 3 years was one of those tried by the Greeks and the Jews. Its very imperfection gives a certain traditional touch to the evidence of Mas'ūdī and Abu'l-Fidā, for it can easily be seen that these historians took no trouble to verify its soundness: they seem to have naively accepted whatever tradition handed to them.

In examining the results accruing from the addition of a month every 3 years, one may surmise that very probably such was the practice followed by the *nasa'at*.

This simple and rough system of intercalation could not make the beginning of each 4th Arab year coincide, with any degree of precision, with the same point of the solar year. For 3 solar years give 1095 days 17 hours 28 minutes 15 seconds; 3 Arab years, of which there were two with 12 months each and one with 13 lunar months, gave only 1092 days 15 hours, 8 minutes; difference: 3 days 2 hours 28 minutes and 15 seconds; so that after every 3 years the beginning of the 1st Arab year of a new series was about 3 days fast on the solar year. The year of the pilgrimage during which Muhammad abolished the *nasi*, 10th year of the Hijra, is a starting-point from which anterior Arab years can be determined. Muhammad Jarkāsī, al-Bīrūnī and Maqrīzī state that this 10th year of the Hijra was the 220th since the institution of the *nasi*.³ It does not seem

1. Daunou, Vol. III, p. 143.

2. Reland, *Antiq. Sac. Vet. Heb.*, Halle, 1769, part IV, p. 205.

3. See the passage of Muhammad Jarkāsī in M. De Sacy's *Memorie*, pp. 618, 758; al-Bīrūnī and Maqrīzī (same *Memorie*, p. 617) say, that the *nasi* had been instituted about 2 centuries before Islam, which agrees

likely that the 9th or the 8th were embolismic years. Muhammad having become Master of Mecca in the year VIII maintained the functions called *Hijāba* and *Siqāya* and abolished all other functions of pagan origin,¹ consequently that of the *nasa'at*. I believe, at all events, that the 10th year of the Hijra should have been an embolismic year, but for Muhammad's express interdiction. Now the 10th year of the Hijra, 219 years after the adoption of the intercalary system, began on the 9th of April 631 A.D. Between that year and that when the *nasi*, or embolism, had been practised for the first time, there is an exact interval of 73 series of 3 years. If the advance of the Arab calendar on the solar calendar had been exactly 3 days every 3 years, the year when the *nasi* was instituted should have begun 219 days after the 9th of April of the solar year, that is on November 14. But the advance was really 3 days 2 hours 20 minutes 15 seconds. This fraction of a day after 73 series of 3 years gives 7 days 2 hours 38 minutes 15 seconds. So, 7 days must be added to the date of November 14; that is the Arab year when the *nasi* was instituted must, in fact, have begun on November 21, 412 A.D., that year having 13 months, the next must have begun on December 13, 413 A.D.; the 3rd on November 28, 414 A.D. and the 4th on November 18, 415 A.D., 3 days earlier than the first. This 4th year, succeeding two years with 12 lunar months each, must have had 13 lunar months, and so on.

The fraction of 2 hours 20 minutes 15 seconds added to the 3 days difference between the Arab year and the solar year after every 3 years, gives after 33 years or 11 series of 3 years, 1 day 1 hour 42 minutes 45 seconds.

Whilst drawing up the chart showing the relation between Arab years and solar years, one must be careful, after every period of 11 series of 3 years, to count 4 days instead of 3, allowing for the advance of the Arab year. This is what I have done in the chart below, where I have marked the beginning of all the Arab years which in my opinion are intercalatory, and also the date of the pilgrimage for each of these years. I have also given the same indications for some intermediary years, especially the first 10 years of the Hijra.

with Muhammad Jarkasi's assertion, since Muhammad began preaching his doctrine 10 or 12 years before the Hijra.

1. *Sīrat ar-Rasūl*, fol. 217 v.

Years of the institution of Nasi	Beginning of the month of Muharram <i>Christian Era</i>	Date of Pilgrimage. <i>Christian Era</i>
1 Nasi	21st Nov. 412 20 days 10th Nov. 413 to 8th Oct.	21st Oct. 413
2	9th Dec. 413	9th Nov. 414
3	28th Nov. 414	29th Oct. 415
4	18th Nov. 415	19th Oct. 416
7	15th Nov. 418	16th Oct. 419
10	12th Nov. 421	13th Oct. 422
13	9th Nov. 424	10th Oct. 425
16	6th Nov. 427	7th Oct. 428
19	3rd Nov. 430	4th Oct. 431
22	31st Oct. 433	1st Oct. 434
25	28th Oct. 436	28th Sept. 437
29	25th Oct. 439	25th Sept. 440
31	22nd Oct. 442	22nd Sept. 443
34	18th Oct. 445	18th Sept. 446
37	15th Oct. 448	15th Sept. 449
40	12th Oct. 451	12th Sept. 452
43	9th Oct. 454	9th Sept. 455
46	6th Oct. 457	6th Sept. 458
49 Nasi	3rd Oct. 460 22nd Sept. 461	3rd Sept. 461
50	21st Oct. 461	21st Sept. 462
51	11th Oct. 462	11th Sept. 463
52	30th Sept. 463	31st Aug. 464
55	27th Sept. 466	28th Aug. 467
58	24th Sept. 469	25th Aug. 470
61	21st Sept. 472	22nd Aug. 473
64	17th Sept. 475	18th Aug. 476
67	14th Sept. 478	15th Oct. 479
70	11th Sept. 481	12th Oct. 482
73	8th Sept. 484	9th Oct. 485
76	5th Sept. 487	6th Oct. 488
79	2nd Sept. 490	3rd Oct. 491
82	30th Oct. 493	31st July 494
85	27th Oct. 496	28th July 497
88	24th Oct. 499	25th July 500
91	21st Oct. 502	22nd July 503
94	17th Oct. 505	18th July 506
97	14th Oct. 508	15th July 509
100	11th Oct. 511	12th July 512
103	8th Oct. 514	9th July 515

Years of the institution of Nasi	Beginning of the month of Muharram <i>Christian Era</i>	Date of Pilgrimage. <i>Christian Era</i>
106	5th Oct. 517	6th July 518
109	2nd Oct. 520	3rd July 521
112	30th July 523	30th June 524
115	27th July 526	27th June 527
118	24th July 529	24th June 530
121	21st July 532	21st June 533
124	17th July 535	17th June 536
127	14th July 538	14th June 539
Nasi	3rd July 539	
128	1st Oct. 539	2nd July 540
129	21st July 540	22nd June 541
130	11th July 541	11th June 542
133	8th July 544	8th June 545
136	5th July 547	5th June 548
139	2nd July 550	2nd June 551
142	29th June 553	30th May 554
145	26th June 556	27th May 557
148	23rd June 559	24th May 560
151	20th June 562	21st May 563
154	16th June 565	17th May 566
157	13th June 568	14th May 569
Nasi	2nd June 569	
158	1st July 560	1st June 570
159	20th June 570	21st May 571
160	10th June 571	11th May 572
163	7th June 574	8th May 575
166	4th June 577	5th May 578
169	1st June 580	2nd May 581
172	29th May 583	29th April 584
Nasi	18th May 584	
173	16th June 584	17th May 585
174	5th June 585	6th May 586
175	26th May 586	26th April 587
178	23rd May 589	23rd April 590
181	20th May 592	20th April 593
184	16th May 595	16th April 596
187	13th May 598	13th April 599
190	10th May 601	10th April 602
193	7th May 604	7th April 605

Years of the institution of Nasi	Beginning of the month of Muharram <i>Christian Era</i>	Date of Pilgrimage. <i>Christian Era</i>
196 Nasi	4th May 607	4th April 608
197	22nd April 608	22nd April 609
198	22nd May 608	12th April 610
199 Nasi	12th May 609 ¹	1st April 611
200	1st May 610 ¹	
201	21st April 611	
202 Nasi	19th May 611	19th April 612
203	8th May 612	8th April 613
204	28th April 613	28th March 614
205 Nasi	16th April 614	
206	16th May 614	16th April 615
207	5th May 615	5th April 616
208 Nasi	25th April 616	25th March 617
209	13th April 617	
Years of Hijra	13th May 617	13th April 618
I	210	1st May 618
	211	20th April 619
	Nasi	8th April 620
II	212	22nd March 620
III	213	10th April 620
IV	214	10th May 620
	Nasi	10th April 621
V	215	
VI	216	30th March 622
VII	217	19th April 622
	Nasi	8th April 623
VIII	218	..
IX	219	30th March 623
X	220	19th March 623
		7th April 624
		26th March 625
		15th March 626
		3rd April 627
		23rd March 629
		12th March 629
		1st April 630
		20th March 631
		9th March 632

I shall now make a few remarks on these charts, remarks which will serve as a rapid survey of the history of the Arab calendar, as I understand it, covering the period of two centuries before Islam.

1. The mission of Muhammad commenced in the month of Ramadān, 23rd December 610 A.D.

The relation between Arab months and Roman months in the very year when *nasi* was instituted is as follows :

Muharram	from Nov. 21, 412 A.D.	to Dec 21
Safar	from Dec. 21 412 A.D.	to Jan. 19, 413 A.D.
Rabi' I (month of rain)	from Jan. 19	to Feb. 18
Rabi' II (rain and vegetation)	from Feb 18	to March 19
Jumāda I (rain stops or becomes rare)	from March 18	to April 18

Burckhardt¹ states that the last showers in the Hijāz fell at the beginning of April, and that the designations of the months must have had a close connection with the climate of the Hijāz whence they were derived.

Jumāda II	from April 18	to May 17
Rajab	„ May 17	„ June 16
Sha'bān	„ June 16	„ July 15
Ramadān	„ July 15	„ Aug. 14
Shawwāl	„ Aug 14	„ Sept. 12
Dhu'l-Qa'da	„ Sept. 12	„ Oct. 12
Dhu'l-Hijja (month of pilgrimage)	„ Oct. 12	„ Nov. 10

The pilgrimage festival fell on Oct. 21, in the heart of autumn.

This relation between the two calendars went on diverging year after year. However for about 30 years, that is the space of one generation, the divergence was not so wide as to render ridiculous the designation of the months with respect to the seasons. In the 34th year of the *nasi* when Muharram began on Oct. 18, 445 A.D., the two Rabi', included between Dec. 16 and Feb. 13, were always rainy months. Jumāda I (Feb. 13 to March 15) already began to part company with its own designation ; but Jumāda II (March 15 to April 13) still coincided with the tail-end of the rainy season ; and Ramadān (June 11 to July 11) was still a very hot month.

Finally, the connection between the months and the seasons ceased to exist. Yet these designations were kept in use through sheer force of habit ; the same thing occurred with the Romans : the months of Sept. Oct. Nov. Dec. kept their names even though they occupied the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th places among the other months.

The date of the pilgrimage festival maintained itself rather longer within reasonable limits. In the 51st year of the *nasi* it fell very near autumn at the beginning of September, which is the fruit season in Arabia. The object in view had thus been attained during at least half a century. Later on when the pilgrimage, advancing gradually, happened to fall in August, then in June, etc., the motive for the adoption of the intercalary system missed its very purpose. So one cannot but be puzzled by the persistence of the Arabs in using a defective system of embolism ; unless

1. *Travels in Arabia*, translated by Eyries, Vol. II, p. 152.

allowance is made for the attachment to time-old institutions which may have developed into deep-rooted religious prejudice.

Here is, besides, an historical event which will throw some light on the matter in question.

Procopius tells us¹ that at a meeting of Roman Generals convened at Dara by Belisarius, 541 A.D., to discuss a plan of campaign, two officers who commanded a corps formed of Syrian troops declared that they could not march with the main army against the town of Nisibius, alleging that their absence would leave Syria and Phoenicia an easy prey to the raids of the Almondar Arabs (al-Mundhir III). Belisarius showed these two officers that their fears were groundless, because they were nearing the summer solstice, a time when the pagan Arabs used to devote two whole months to the practice of their religion, abstaining from any bellicose act whatsoever.

Evidently this refers to the time of the pilgrimage, for it was the only time of the year when the Arabs had two consecutive holy months ; in fact, there may have been three : Dhu'l-Qa'da, Dhu'l-Hijja and Muḥarram. The pilgrimage held in the 129th year of the *nasi* (according to the above table) fell in fact, on June 22, 451 A.D., precisely at the summer solstice.

So we are in possession of three quasi-certain data : the pilgrimage was timed to take place in autumn, about 413 A.D.; at the summer solstice, in 541 ; at the beginning of spring in 632. These data concur exactly with the hypothesis of the constant and regular use of triennial embolism, as shown in the table ; this opinion appears highly probable and conformable to reality. As a consequence some change must be made concerning the calculation, up to now obtaining among chronologists, of the first years of the Hijra, which had been considered as purely lunary years. However, this change implies a difference of a few months and concerns only the first 7 years. I have already stated why I incline to think that intercalation, expressly abolished in the 10th year, was practised neither in the 9th nor in the 8th.

To verify my conjectures and check my table of correspondence, I have looked up among Arab historical documents, especially during the first 7 years of the Hijra, those containing any mention of temperature, together with date and month (Arab). I found only two of that kind.

In the very year of the opening of the Hijra, Muhammad migrating from Mecca arrived at Medina in the middle of Rabi' I ; the heat was then *very inconvenient*.² From the table, the middle of Rabi' I coincides with the first days in July.

In the 5th year of the Hijra, an army of allied tribes which was besieging Madina in the month of Shawwāl had much to endure from cold and the inclemency of the weather.³ From the table, that month of Shawwāl covers the period from Jan. 23 to Feb. 22.

1. *De bellis Persico*, lib. II, cap. XVI.

2. *Sirat ar-Rasūl*, fol. 84.

3. *Ibid.*, fol. 179.

Thus this historical evidence confirms the new concordance I am putting forward between the first years of the Hijra and the Christian Era. In conclusion I shall now give a brief summary of these notes on the Arab calendar.

The present names of Arab months were adopted more than two centuries before the Hijra, along with a triennial embolismic system aiming at maintaining the pilgrimage in autumn. This aim was frustrated by the incorrect method of calculation used. When no embolism was resorted to, the pagan Arabs to avoid having three consecutive holy months, sometimes transferred the privilege of Muḥarrem to Ṣafar. The word *nasi*, whose proper meaning is retardation, also meant the intercalary month and the retardation of Muḥarram, either through embolism or the postponement of the observance of that month to the following month. Muhammad abolished both these practices in 632 A.D., the 10th year of the Hijra.

One can easily imagine that since the pilgrimage no longer coincided with the season originally selected as the most favourable for that purpose, embolism was but a vain and useless practice which Muhammad could well abolish without let or hindrance.

REV. BRO. LOUIS NOBIROL.

SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN SAMSĀM-UD-DAULAH

THE object of this paper is to bring to light some of the unpublished and rare letters of Shāh Nawāz Khān Samsām-ud-Daulah, the great scholar-statesman of the Deccan.¹ Samsām-ud-Daulah, the minister of Nāṣir Jang and later Wakil-i-Muṭlaq of Ṣalābat Jang, is equally famous as the author of *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, the valuable and voluminous

1. His name was 'Abdur Razzāq. He was descended from the family of Sādiyat of Khawāf in Khurāsān, but his great-grandfather Amīr Kamāluddīn left Khawāf, and came to India in the reign of Akbar, when he was admitted amongst the nobles of the court. His son, Mirak Hussain, held a situation in the service of the State, in the reign of Jahāngīr. His son, Amānat Khān, was in great favour with Shāh Jahān and later retained the patronage of 'Alamgīr. When 'Alamgīr resided in Northern India, he bestowed the Subedari of the Deccan on Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltash and Amānat Khān was appointed Diwān of the Deccan. He had four sons of eminent character; the first, 'Abdul-Qidīr Diyānat Khān, was the keeper of the privy purse, the second, Mīr Husain Amānat Khān, was the public treasurer and Governor of Surat; the third son was Mīr 'Abdur-Rahmān Wizārat Khān, who was appointed Diwān of Mālwā; the fourth son, Qāsim Khān, was Diwān of Multan. Mīr Hasan 'Alī, the son of Qāsim Khān, was the father of Samsām-ud-Daulah Shāh Nawāz Khān.

Shāh Nawāz Khān was born on the 10th March, 1700 A.D., at Lahore, but repaired to Aurangabad at an early age, and took up his abode with his relations and kinsmen who resided there before him. He was engaged first by Nizām-ul-Mulk Aṣaf Jah, under whom he served as Diwān of Berar for several years. During the period of his forced retirement of six years following the defeat of his patron Nāṣir Jang in the battle of Burhanpur on 3rd August, 1741, and till he was appointed Governor of Berar in 1747, he devoted himself to the compilation of *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*. When Nāṣir Jang succeeded Nizām-ul-Mulk, he made Shāh Nawāz Khān his Diwān.

Later on, Shāh Nawāz Khān rose high in the favour of Salābat Jang and obtained the rank of 7000 with the title of Samsām-ud-Daulah. On the 12th May, 1758, the day on which Hyder Jang, the counsellor of Mossa'ir Bussy, was assassinated, he also was murdered in the tumult that ensued and was interred in the tomb of his ancestors in the southern part of the city of Aurangabad.

His work, *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, contains the memoirs of the Mughal nobility who served under the house of Timūr. The manuscript was left unfinished, and in the turbulent scenes which attended his death, it was scattered in various directions and was considered as lost. It was, however, recovered in an incomplete form a year later, and some twelve years after its composition (i.e. in 1759) it was rearranged and completed by the author's close friend and associate Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Azād. Samsām-ud-Daulah's son Mīr 'Abdul-Hay who received his father's title and a high rank further completed it by supplying a preface and some additional biographies, the draft of which was left imperfect owing to excess of materials and to postponements (*Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. I, p. 41).

biographical dictionary of the Mughal peerage. He was a first-class literary stylist. Hence the collection of his letters is important both on account of his high political and his literary position.

The collection of his letters in the Persian Manuscript Section of the Asafia Library contains valuable information regarding contemporary political events. One manuscript copy of the letters or *Makātib* is casually attached to *Inshā'-i-Musavī Khān*, No. 201 (*Inshā'*), and the other is equally casually attached to the manuscript copy of *Bahāristān-i-Sukhan* No. 193 (*Tadhkira*), without any specific mention of the *Makātib* either in the catalogue or in the manuscript volumes themselves. I have compared both the copies of the *Makātib* and found them practically identical except for some slight verbal differences.

The collection consists of Shāh Nawāz Khān's official and private correspondence which covers a pretty long and historically important period in the history of the Deccan. As some of the letters and petitions are addressed to such personalities as 'Ālamgīr II, the Mughal Emperor, Nāṣir Jang, Pēshwā Bālājī Rao, Sayyid Lashkar Khān, Malhar Rao Holkar and Dupleix, they are historically of great value.

The letters and petitions are of varying length. Some of them bear sub-titles indicative of the subject treated therein. The collection contains in all 66 letters and petitions, which are detailed below :

Addressed to

'Ālamgīr II, the Mughal Emperor	I
Firūz Jang, Wazīr-ul-Mamālik	3
Raja Kesho Rao, royal courtier	2
Nāṣir Jang	5
Pēshwā Bālājī Rao	2
Malhar Rao Holkar	2
Dupleix	I
Sayyid Lashkar Khan (Rukn-ud-Daulah Nāṣir Jang).	I
Amānat Khān.	5
Quṭb-ud-Daulah Muḥammad Anwar Khān	3
Quṣūra Jang Bahādur	I
Qavī Jang Bahādur	I
Ahmad 'Āli Khān	I
Mahārājā Arjun Bahādur	2
Qādī Kamāluddin	I
Shāh Wali	I
Rai Samdhu Lāl	I
Nāṣir-ud-Dīn 'Āli Khān	I
Dilāwar Khān Bahādur	II
Mir Ghulām 'Āli Āzād	II
Mir Muḥammad Husain Khān	2
Sayyid Ghulām Ḥasan	I
Muḥammad Aslam Khān	I

The English translation of two of these letters, along with their historical interpretation, is given below¹ :—

The petition addressed to 'Ālamgīr II, the Mughal Emperor, runs thus :

" 'Abdūr-Razzāq,² who considers himself to be smaller than the atoms of dust, prostrates his forehead of devotion and begs access to touch the foot of the royal throne. The royal Farmān, accompanied by a special write and gifts, has honoured the devoted servant beyond description. The happy news that one's desire shall find fulfilment has opened the doors of felicity to hope. It is gratifying that in the beginning of the spring of the happy reign, right counsel given by the wise, who have access to the Royal throne, found due appreciation. The devoted servant full of humility and solicitation desires heartily to accompany the Royal stirrups and thus be able to exert himself in the Royal Service. But in accordance with the Royal command, which is of a piece with life and faith, the devoted servant would continue to serve in the interest of the Exalted Court as a means of his own salvation in the two worlds. In future also, whatever the Exalted Commands may be, they will be carried out punctiliously and should be considered as a justification for his self-exaltation. May the benign shadow remain over the head of all the devoted servants for ever."

This letter was probably written sometime in 1754, just after Shāh Nawāz Khān took the place of Sayyid Lashkar Khān as Dīwān and Wakil-i-Muṭlaq of Ṣalābat Jang. It was in the same year that Emperor Ahmad Shāh was blinded, and the triumphant 'Imād-ul-Mulk Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān, grandson of Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh I and patron of Shāh Nawāz Khān, set up 'Ālamgīr II as the Mughal Emperor. 'Imād-ul-Mulk Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān's rival, the redoubtable Ṣafdar Jang, after wielding power for six years, was forced to retire to Oudh where he was destined to found a dynasty.

(۱) عرصاد است هیشگاه حلامت و حما باد عزیز الدین عالمگیر ثانی پادشاه ار سال داشته
کمتر از ذرات آفاق هزار زاق چیه اعتقاد بسیود شده سیه افروخته بعرض ملتمسان پایه
سر بر خلافت و فرما نزوانی حضرت ظل محبان شیفۃ الرحمان ادام الله اقسامه و حلامه میرساده. قرمان
کرامات شان و الا شان موشی بخط حاص قدس اختصاص با اوراع مراسم و فضولات ورود مسعود فرمود
و بوبد وصول مارب و مقاصد اواب مرو و شاد مانی بر روی امید کشود. در یوقت که سر آغاز هار
چارچین جهابی و کشور گشائی است و بایاری رائی درست ادیش بار یان خسوز لامع الور بنازگی
شگفتگی دارد قدویان عقیدت کیش سرا یا صبر و احساح و بدل و بیان آرز و دار بد که برق ریزی سعی
جاافتافی در رکاب قفسی انتساب خدیو زمین و زمان سرخروی نشانی اندوز نه لاسکن یا پس اطاعت امر اقدس
حکم مقدس را که توام یان و ایغان است بتقدیم کلار های مرکار و الا در غیبت یهم سرمایه و نجات و رستکاری
دارین می شمارد. الحال که ممه با وقت کازبهرچه فرمان و اجب الاذعن شرف صدور باید با قباد و پیروی
ذخیره اندوز تفاحر و میاهات گردد طل علیل حل الیه و مفارق بدهای درگاهی لاتاگی باد.

2. Name of Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah.

It was probably at the instance of 'Imādūl-Mulk Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Firūz Jang that Shāh Nawāz Khān got in touch with the Emperor, who bestowed on him Māhi-Marātib (the Fish Insignia), an honour which was specially conferred on princes and great nobles. For the conferment of the rare honour on Shāh Nawāz Khān Şamşām-ud-Daulah the chronogram was found in the hemistich: از ناهد آنده ماهی و هم مراتب (1116 Hijra).

Letter addressed to Monsieur Dupleix:¹

"Praise be to the Almighty!"

"I consider you to be unique in sympathy and benevolence. We are sure that you want improvement and tranquillity in our affairs just as we want them in yours. During the time that the Mughal Emperor has lain low at the hands of the Marathas, the latter's pride has increased a hundredfold. So far as our administration is concerned we do not find ourselves in a position to undertake conquest or realise tribute from others owing to lack of resources and excess of expenditure on salaried persons of which the details may be known later. Now it seems

بگورند ور پهله‌چری متنضم درخواست قرض قلمی ساخته

الحمد لله كم آن میر بان را در محبت و دوستی و حیر سواهی و غخواری سبت مخود مفرد و یکتا میدام. هیچکس درین امر باشان شریک و سهیم بست لبدا هر قدر که مارا جمعت و رفاه و رونق کارهای خود مطلوب است یقین که زیاده بان ایشان را مركوز حاطراست. در یولا که سلطنت هدوستان بذست سرهنه تماه و ذلیل گردید و غرور آهای از یکی صدر رسید سببی زری و کثرت تغیره داران و نلت آمدنی که محصل معلوم می شده اشده نهضت ملک گیری و تحصیل پیشکشات حصوص یشکش سری را گک پیش که فلاح و روانه مصخر برآست از محالات بیماری آید. حال آنکه حد اقصاء بر سات بدون سیرو گشته نه ملک بذست می ساد و هم از دست حمالان رهانی متصور است. نظر کمال محبت و یکچیزی که فیما بین متحقق است متصدی است که در پیوست اقل ده پیازده لک رویه بطريق دستگردان گومک ضرورتا اسماهات سپاه و هزینت ملک گیری صورت گرد و الا في الحبله عمل ضعیفی و ملک کمی که مساده مالکیه مفر میورد بفضل الی هرگاه از عرض مظفر جگ که ملغ خطیر بود مارسایدیم بد انتقام ملکی در ادانی این دستگردان توف و اعمال امکان ندارد. طرفة تا هوری و یکسایی آن میر بان در عالم مشهود که موج شایسته برداری موسی و مسی بهادر تین رکاب گرده بزر تقدیم در چین و قاتا عانت گردید بلکه گمان خواهند گرد که محصلو قرآنک فرستاده اند. سیاه را ایدیمه بهم میرسد و مخاف را رعیی و سرکار را اعتباری افزایید چون حسات باین درجه رسیده اشند آن میر بان پیور و تامل اضاف غایید که بحساب می و دوکل رویه سال در چهار سال قریب یک گرو و مسی لک رویه برای حاطر آن میر بان که از همه زیاده متنظر است فقسان آرکات کشیده زرهای قد و ٹیپ پیازده پیازده بست لک رویه که محمد علیخان و انگریزان بدادید قبول نگردید. آیده این قسم او لکه عظم را که خال چهره دکن است از دست دادن مافی عقل و مصلحت بعقل دور اندیش نظر مصلحت وقت و کار هرچه اولی و قریب الوقوع باشد برگارند والا نظر برایکه رون کارهای دوستان از خود میشانست. درین امر بعضاً مصلحت مار امغار سازند. بلا علاجی مقدمات اینهیه تحصیل بخط خود بروش شده دیدم متظر شانه مفصل و منع بدور اندیشی زود بتویند که خاطر بجه شود.

impossible to realise the tribute from Seringapatam on which our prosperity is dependent. Unless a tour is undertaken after the rainy season the country cannot remain in a state of tranquillity and the opposition be crushed. As there prevails complete friendship and harmony between us it should be feasible to advance us a loan of ten or fifteen lakhs of Rupees so that we could conciliate the soldiery and undertake expeditions. Otherwise there is danger of the country shrinking and the resources getting attenuated beyond recovery. As you know, we on our part paid the contribution promised by Muzaffar Jang, which was not a small sum. I should like to assure you that after completing the general organization of the administration there will not be any negligence or delay in the payment of the loan. Your fame will spread far and wide for helping us with an army under Monsieur Bussy, and also for offering us monetary aid at such a critical moment. This will be taken as the tribute of the Carnatic by some people. But if the loan is advanced, the soldiery will find a basis for hope, the enemy will be overawed, and the Government will regain its lost confidence.

You might realise this in justice, that we have foregone for your sake thirty-two lakhs of rupees annually, which would be one crore and thirty lakhs in four years. It was in consideration of your interest that we even refused to receive fifteen lakhs from Muhammad 'Ali of Arcot and twenty lakhs from the English in the form of cash or draft cheques (Tip). It would be against reason and expediency to give away the portion of the state which is like a mole on the fair face of the Deccan. In this connection let us know whatever you consider to be right and proper. As a true friend and well wisher it would be in the fitness of things to give us full authority as a free agent to do what is expedient in the circumstances. We hope that you will give us the benefit of your valuable advice in detail, which will be a means of comforting us a great deal."

In this letter several issues are raised. The first is the bankruptcy of the State. When Shāh Nawāz Khān succeeded Sayyid Lashkar Khān in the Diwānship in 1754, the State was practically bankrupt. The State finances had reached such a low ebb that even the ruler had to go without money. According to the *Hadīqat-ul-Ālam*,¹ when Šamsām-ud-Daulah assumed the reins of Wikālat-i-Mutlaq, the Governormaent of Nawāb Salābat Jang was in extreme financial straits. Salābat Jung's household objects were sold to meet the expenses of the palace. Šamsām-ud-Daulah by his wonderful management succeeded in easing the financial situation. It would be apt to say that by his masterly touch he made the dry river flow again."¹

(۱) چہ وقتکہ وکالت مطان او مقرر شد سرکار بواب امیرالممالک عجب حالتی داشت کہ از بے زری نوبت به فروخت اثاث ایت دیبدہ بود۔ بواب صمام الدارہ تو یعنی حسن تردد نمود کہ آب رفت ہے جو
تمد (حدیقة العالم - جلد ۲ - صفحہ ۲۳۹)

It was in these circumstances that Shāh Nawāz Khān Samām-ud-Daulah asked for a loan from Dupleix. But the latter, although he believed that the French prestige should be maintained in the Deccan even if it were at the cost of diplomatic and military defeat in the Carnatic, could not be of much help to Samām-ud-Daulah. After the failure of the second seige of Trichinopoly by the French in 1753, Dupleix lacked calm judgement. His prestige was waning, his power was about to be annihilated. His financial condition was none too good. His country had lost confidence in him. Probably Shāh Nāwaz Khān Samām-ud-Daulah's letter reached Pondicherry at a time when the orders for the recall of Dupliex and Godeheu's appointment to the Governorship of the French settlements in India had already been issued by the French Government.

In this letter there is also a hint about Bussy's galling interference in administrative matters. We know on authority that after his return to Hyderabad in 1753, the whole attitude of Bussy had undergone a change. He had compelled Sayyid Lashkar Khān to sign an agreement ceding the Sarkars of Guntur, Rajahmundry, Ellore and Chicacole for the support of the French army. Although Bussy tacitly engaged himself to support Sayyid Lashkar Khān in the office of Diwān, he very soon created such situation that Sayyid Lashkar Khān was so disconcerted that he sent in his resignation and retired into private life. Shāh Nawāz Khān succeeded him.

Bussy's interference continued even during the ministership of Shāh Nawāz Khān. It was due to this that the latter was compelled to organize the anti-French party with the help of Mir Niẓām Khān. The party aimed at keeping Bussy at a distance from the management of State affairs. The repeated defeats of the French in the Carnatic shook Salābat Jang's confidence in the French. At Shāh Nawāz Khān's instance he opened negotiations with the English, which culminated in the treaty of Masulipatam entered into between Salābat Jang and the East India Company in May 1759.

YUSUF HUSSAIN KHAN.

THE FIRST URDU NEWSPAPER

WHICH is the first Urdu newspaper? This question has yet to be answered with authority in definite terms. But from the records available, it is safe to advance this claim of priority for *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* (Calcutta). It appears to have started publication on March 29, 1823.

Hurree Hur Dutt, a writer in the Office of the General Treasury, Fort William, applied for a license on the 19th April, 1823, "to carry on the Persian and Hindooostanee newspapers, called the *Jam-i-Jehan Nooma*." It was to be edited by Lalla Sodha Sook of Mirzapur, a Calcutta Moonshee, and printed by William Hopkins Pearce. The permission was granted. The Persian edition, for which no license was then required, had been appearing from March 28, 1822.

Another application for a license to bring out a newspaper entitled *Shamsul Akhbar*, in "Persian and Hindooostanee languages" was made by Mathur Mohan Mitter. Muneeram Thacoor was to edit it. The permission was granted on May 6, 1823. No copy of this paper is available in the Imperial Record Department. Even its name is not mentioned in later official notes on the Indian native press. Perhaps it was eclipsed altogether by its rival, the *Jām-i-Jehān Numa*.

In the course of a note on the Indian native press, written on the 10th October, 1822, W.B. Bayley, the Chief Secretary, enumerates the various newspapers then existing in India. He mentions two Persian and two Bengali newspapers. Another is said to be appearing from Bombay but the language is not specified. It was the *Bombay Samachar* in Gujarati. Looking through the records in the Imperial Record Department, we first of all come across an application by Hurree Hur Dutt requesting permission to bring out this Hindooostanee newspaper. This evidence is sufficient to establish that the Hindustani edition of the *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* is in fact the first Urdu newspaper.

Some people dismiss this Urdu edition as a mere supplement, not meriting the name of a newspaper. This impression has been created by the common proprietorship of the Urdu and Persian newspapers bearing

the same name, the *Jām-i-Jehān Numa*. Even the notices that appeared in the two papers seem to confirm this impression.

The notice in the Urdu paper said : "The editor of the *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* begs leave to notify to the public that he has, with a view to rendering this publication more interesting, entertaining and instructive to the European portion of its supporters, resolved to publish, in future, a Supplementary Sheet in pure Hindooostanee or Ordoo Tongue, at the additional trifling charge of four annas the Number, or One Rupee per month, if taken together with the two Persian sheets ; but if taken separately, Two Rupees will be charged for it per mensem."

The Persian paper had a notice saying : "European Gentlemen, who may wish to be supplied with this paper, either for their own perusal, or from a benevolent desire to diffuse knowledge among the native members of their establishment, may be supplied with it, on application to Tarachand Dutt of Colootollah, at three Rupees per month, including the Ordoo Supplement."

But this 'Oordoo Supplement' differed from the Persian paper in contents, style, presentation of news and even policy. A comparison of the two issues of these papers bearing the same date will go a long way to establish their separate entities. Let us take the first two issues available in the Imperial Record Department. They bear the date January 5, 1825.

The Urdu edition has four news items about Lucknow, Jaipur, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and Sindhia Bahadur. The Persian edition has thirteen news items about Calcutta appointments, the fall of Katoor Fort, Rangoon news, Martaban news, Tibarmarkovi Island news, Sir Francis Macnaughton's appointment as officiating Chief Justice, Calcutta, Strange news, Funeral rites of Sir Alexander Keel, Deccan News, Medical School, Calcutta, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the mother of the King of Oudh, Rangoon. Only Maharaja Ranjit Singh is the common item between the two lists. The radical difference between the two editions is apparent from the reports themselves, reproduced below.

مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ بھادر کی خبر

اخبار کے پڑھنے سے دریافت ہوا کہ دیوبیانی کی پہلی تاریخ کو عرضیان سردارون کی جو خیر کے درے سے پڑھے ہوئے کابل کے رخ پر پڑھے ہوئے ہیں اس مضمون کی پہنچیں کہ خیر کے حاکم کی فوج لشکر میں داخل ہوئی اور سرکار کی فوج مقامگاہ سے کوچ کوچ کے بارہ کوس درے کے آکے کابل کی طرف پہنچی۔ انسان اہم تعالیٰ یہاں سے کوچ کر کے کابل کے درے کے آکے نزدیک پہنچ کر کے توقف کرے گی اور یہ سنا جاتا ہے کہ درانیون کا لشکر بھی کابل سے چلا ہے۔ تھی بیچھے شنکر گڑھ کے قلعہ دار کی بیچھی ہوئی رسید لشکر میں آئی۔ حکم ہوا کوتواں کے پاس پہنچا دو۔ اور کوتواں سے کہہ دو کہ

جو قراقشکر کے بنیوں کے میلوں کی غارتگری کے جرم میں گرفتار آئے ہیں انہیں ہاتھہ کان ناک کاٹ کر چھوڑ دیے۔ اتنے میں خبر آئی کہ لشکر کے سردار یار محمد کے استقبال کو روانہ ہوئے فرمایا کہ بناتی خیمه زردوزی کام کا محمد حیات خان کے باغ میں کھڑا کرو اور کہ ان صاحب کو حکم ہوا کہ یار محمد خان کے آتے ہوئے سلامی کی توپیں چھوڑ دیو۔ دسویں تاریخ جزویل دیوان چند نے عرض کیا کہ یار محمد خان مقامگاہ سے سوار ہوئے حضور میں آتے ہیں۔ مجھے اور عزیز الدین خان کو رخصت کے وقت ایک ایک بلادہ پر زریمور کا دیا ہے۔ تھوڑی دیر بعد یار محمد خان خیمے میں آتے۔ سلامی کی توپیں چھوٹیں۔ مہاراج نے زد کار کرسی سے انہوں کو معاونہ کر یار محمد خان کو بھیا۔ چار گھنٹی نک کابل اور اتنا ہے رام کے دوران کا حال استفسار کیا اور اپنی سرکار کے کار پر داڑوں سے نذر دلوائی۔ اور اکیس کشیان بوشما کی کپڑے کی دو خوانچے جواہر کے ساتھ تو اوضع کیا۔ یار محمد دوسرے خیمے میں جوان کے دھنے کے لئے کھڑا ہوا تھا۔ سوار ہو گئے اور خزانے کے گماشتنے کو حکم ہوا کہ پندرہ ہزار روپے ضیافت کے پہنچادو۔ یار محمد نے گماشتنے کو تین پارچے کا خاتم دیا بعد اس کے یار محمد خان کے وکیل نے عرض کیا کہ مہاراجہ بھادر بھی یار محمد خان کے خیمے میں رونق افرا ہون۔ مہاراج نے جواب دیا ہم کیون نہ جاوین گے۔ مہاراج نے سرداروں کو حکم بھیجا کہ لشکر پشاور کو کوچ کرے اور آپ یار محمد خان کے خیمے کی طرف متوجہ ہوئے یار محمد خان کے ساتھ سردار پیشوائی کر کے مہاراج کو خیمے میں لے گئے۔ دیر نک آپس میں اختلاط کی یاتین ہوا کین۔ یار محمد خان نے چودہ بلادے سیور کے اور دو گھوڑے تیز رفتار۔ تین چھوپیش قیمتی دار گزدانے اور ایک تلوار بہت نادر نذر کی اور دو ہزار روپے مہاراج کے شاگرد پیشہ کو اعام دیئے۔ مہاراجہ وہاں سے سوار ہو رستے میں زرباشی کرتے ہوئے اپنے خیمے میں داخل ہوئے چودھوئیں تاریخ کو وہاں سے کوچ ہوا۔ چودہ کوس کی مسافت طے کر کے پیشاور سے ادھر دس کوس پر خیمے میں رونق افزا ہوئے اور یار محمد خان نے بھی اسی جگہ ڈیرا کیا۔

خبر مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ بھادر والی لاہور

بملاحظہ اخبار متفو ش خاطر گردید کہ مہاراجہ مددوح اسندور گذشتہ پنجم دیعث الثاني بکوچھا میں متواترہ کروہی این طرف پشاور برخیام نصرت فرجام زیب وزینت بخشدیدند۔ یار محمد خان ناظم پشاور دورو ز پیشتر برسم استقبال از پشاور در اتنا ہے راہ بشرف ملاقات مہاراجہ بھادر ذخیرہ اندوز مصروف شادمانی شدہ ہم رکاب گردید۔ وروز ملاقات رسم استقبال

سردار ان از جاين موري گشت و در لشکر مهارا جه توب ہائے سلامی یار محمد خان مرشیتدند۔
بست ويک کشتی یارچہ بوشاکی باد و خوانجہ جواہر از طرف مهارا جه و چهارده لبادہ سور
با ويک تیغ آبدار و دور اس صبا سرعت و سه راس اشتہر تیز قدم از جانب یار محمد خان تواضع
شد۔ و مهارا جه یہا در پائزدہ هزار رویہ رسم ضیافت فرستادند و در منزل دوکروہی پشاور
معتمد ان دوست محمد خان رسیده خط آقائے خود بایک صد ہنک میوہ و دیگر هدایا
گز رانید۔ معروض داشتند کہ دوست محمد خان ہم عتریب و پاشکر فیروزی اثر میرسد
ونز مندرج بود کہ از فوج مهارا ج کہاں پیشتر بیرون خیر خیمه زن بود با سوار ان حاکم
درہ خیردہ گروہی جلال آباد پر رخ کابل رسیده و بسرعت عازم کابل است و اشکر درانیان
ہم از کابل پمکنہ اینان برآمدہ و مهارا جه پروانہ بنام قلعہ دار اٹک بدین مضمون از اثنائے
راہ نوشته اند که خود را پرسیل استقبال باز بنوک خانہ پاشکر برساند۔

There is hardly any need to point out differences in these two versions.

Before considering some features of this Urdu news-sheet of four pages, it will be helpful to have an idea of the various forces at play which ultimately determined the short course that its life was destined to run.

The British Government was fully aware of the power that the native press could wield and was anxious to regulate it. W.B. Bayley, in his note above-mentioned, writes : "No engine indeed can be conceived more powerful and effectual for diffusing useful knowledge amongst the population of this country than a press circulating cheaply and periodically articles of intelligence, calculated to instruct and improve the public mind under the guidance of judicious and properly qualified conductors, and in exact proportion must be the evils of an ill-regulated and licentious press." The methods devised for the purpose were the Press Regulations, 1823, buying a certain number of copies of the newspapers and giving concession in the postal fee.

The British malcontents employed the native papers to vent their own malice against persons in authority. Such a development the Government was determined to stop. The note says : "It is obvious, however, that the editors of the papers in the native languages have already been and will be liable to the influence of their European friends and patrons and that in the progress of the free native press of India, the pages of the native newspapers may become the channel of spreading throughout the country such reports and strictures and doctrines as the bigotry, self-interest, disappointment or malignity of European English subjects may choose to circulate. On the contrary, if superintended with prudence and under the restraint of legal authority the native newspapers may be made the instrument of extraordinary and extensive benefit in disseminating useful knowledge, in correcting prejudices and in facilitating the

accomplishment of those measures which may be directed by Government, with a view to the improvement of our institutions and to the promotion of happiness, prosperity and civilisation amongst the numerous and rapidly increasing population of British India."

The Persian newspapers, and Urdu newspapers in a small way, attracted a fairly wide notice and actually evoked protests from various Indian princes. On this point the note remarks : " The apathy and want of curiosity of the natives have prevented any very extensive circulation of the newspapers. Still, the attention of natives of rank and education in many distant parts of India has been roused to the contemplation of this portentous novelty and a family so remote from the Presidency as that of the King of Delhi, have officially expressed desire to be furnished with the Persian newspapers."

The above quotations clearly indicate the problems with which the Government was faced and also how it intended to regulate and, if possible, use the press for better purposes. In the brief history of the *Jām-i-Jehān Numa*, we find how a fairly decent news-sheet deteriorated into a cheap propaganda organ in order to enjoy postal concessions and sell a number of copies to the Government. It is not mere coincidence that the paper started its serial publication of the history of England in March, 1826, and was granted postal concession in October, 1826. This serial, which had a definite bias, ran for about a year and almost killed the paper. That was a bad bargain indeed. The paper lost its prestige and popularity and sheer lack of patronage ultimately led to its early demise in 1828.

The objects of the Urdu *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* were identical with those of its Persian counterpart, namely to publish articles of news from English papers, to procure and make known intelligence of all that passed at the principal cities of Hindustan whether foreign or within the Company's territories. Readers were also expected to send in their contributions in news items or articles.

The *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* benefited considerably from the experience which its editor had gained in handling material for the Persian counterpart. Articles and news items appeared in this paper about the King of Oudh and Maharaja Ranjit Singh which could not pass unnoticed. The King of Oudh did make official protests. W.B. Bayley writes : " The articles respecting Oudh have been from the beginning filled with complaints and abuse of the existing system of Government, virulent attacks upon the minister who is called a low unworthy menial, and gross charges of folly and oppression directed against the king himself." All this falls within the purview of the Foreign Relations Act of 1932, and any paper publishing such stuff today is sure to find itself in trouble. The Urdu news-sheet remained entirely free from such virulent attacks, and even in cases of censure it preferred to make a suggestion in between the lines.

The newspaper consisted of four pages, 8×11 inches. Each page was divided into two columns. In the right ear of the first page were the words " اوروزانہ " followed by the number of the issue and date. The last

page ended with the line :

”کلکتہ مقام کے بیچ میں پریس چھاپا کیا،“

Judging this news-sheet from the journalistic point of view, the absence of the date-line strikes us as most surprising. In accordance with the new fashion developed by the *Daily Mail*, the place and date and at times a number of places and dates are mentioned in the body of the paper. The contemporary English newspapers published in India had the date-line.

اخارے کا گھر سے سلومنہوا۔
The lead of the story is invariably something like this. But in those days, that seems to have been a fairly reliable source, for we find the Chief Secretary much worried about awkward but true stories published in papers which he had received through official channels.

The use of headline and paragraph was unknown. All reports relating to certain areas are jumbled together under a main heading like ”بُراک جر“ ”لکھوکی جر“ ”کھوکھوکی جر“ At times, it becomes difficult to find out where a new story starts. In those days, readers perhaps bestowed more attention on the newspapers than we do today. The Persian papers are a little better in the arrangement and presentation of news stories.

At times, there are good humorous touches. The report about an elephant of Raja Gaekwar which had run amuck, killed six persons and wounded many others, finished off in these words :

تیاس میں آتا ہے کہ یہ ہاتھی راجہ پریت سنگھ کے ہاتھی کی نسل سے ہو گا
جس کی بھومن مرز اسودا نے تصدیہ لکھا۔

The reports about the celebration of festivals have always poetic touches. The high-flown language in which details of various ceremonies are given includes words like these :

”لکھنے سے کیا فائدہ - سننے والی کب سچ مانتے ہیں،“

Poems were also given space. The following Ghazal appearing in the issue dated April 18, 1827, will not be without interest :

غزل مرسلہ مستر ڈاکاستا

کل ہم تمہارے کوچے میں آئے چلے گئے
کیون دل سے شاد ہوویں نہ ہم دوستوں سو
پکھہ دنیج و غم کا حال نہ پونیھو کہ کیا ہوا
وہ باغبان حسن جو آئے تو کل ادھر
ٹک طرف میرے دیکھ کے جھٹ چتوں نکو پیر
ہم ہی فقط ہیں دل جو گناہیں ہیں ورنہ سب
کل اس پوی کے بزم میں سب مل کے بر ملا
ہے ہے ہزار اشک بھانے چلے گئے
وے جاتے جاتے ہم کو بلائے چلے گئے
الفت کو ہم تو بیارو نبھائے چلے گئے
وہ تھم درد دل میں جائے چلے گئے
وہ آپ ہنس کے ہم کو رولانے چلے گئے
اک جہاں میں پکھہ تو کائے چلے گئے
تیری غزل ڈاکاستا گائے چلے گئے

Post Script.—The date March 29, 1823, on which *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* in Urdu is above stated to have started publication is incorrect. This date was worked out on the basis of Mr. Bayley's assertion in his famous note that *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* in Persian first appeared on March 28, 1822. The difference between the serial numbers of these Persian and Urdu editions is 52 which gives the date mentioned above.

But it is so strange that Mr. Bayley was wrong in his statement. It is contradicted by the first issue of Raja Ram Mohan Roy's Persian weekly, *Mir'at-ul-Akhbār*, published on April 20, 1822 which states, "The Editor informs the public that although so many newspapers have been published in this city to gratify their readers, yet there is none in Persian for the information of those who are well versed in that language, and do not understand English, particularly the people of Upper Hindooostan, he has therefore undertaken to publish a Persian newspaper every week."

This point is further clarified by a report entitled "Hindoostanee paper, *Jām-i-Jehān Numa*" published in the Bengali weekly, *Sauymoody*, dated April 19, 1822. A reference to the issues of *Calcutta Journal* dated May 8, 1822, and June 22, 1822, solves the mystery. *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* started as a Hindooostanee weekly but its eighth issue dated May 16, 1822, contained a portion of material in Persian language. By and by, Persian ousted Hisndoostanee so that by the time (October 10, 1822) Mr. Bayley wrote his note, *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* had become a purely Persian paper. Later on, *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* again started an Urdu news-sheet the history of which is given above.

The facts as they now emerge are that *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* in Urdu appeared for the first time on March 28, 1822. Its Persian supplement was started on May 16, 1822.

ASLAM SIDDIQI.

THE DEATH OF HAIDAR 'ALI

THE death of Nawāb Haidar 'Ali Khān was an important event in the history of South India. Nearly all contemporary authorities agree that it occurred on December 7th, 1782, at Narsingh Rayanapet, near Chittoor. There is however some confusion regarding this date as the news of the Nawāb's death was kept secret for military reasons. Tipū was at that time conducting operations against Col. Humbeston on the Malabar Coast ; his presence was absolutely necessary before the sad news could be announced.

Throughout 1782 Haidar 'Ali was in indifferent health. He had for a long time been suffering from cancer in his back.¹ Two years earlier, too, he was seriously ill while conducting operations on the Coromandal Coast. Haidar tried many remedies, consulted many Hakims, Vaidas and even French physicians,² but without success. He had come to Chittoor to spend the Muharram.

It was Purnaiya who suggested that the news of Haidar 'Ali's death should be kept secret till Tipū's arrival.³ Kishen Rao, the other minister, agreed, and therefore soon after Haidar 'Ali's death the body was embalmed and was secretly sent to Kolar⁴ as one of the chests carrying valuable things. Meanwhile courtiers were sent to Tipū asking him to return immediately.

In spite of these precautions rumours broke out. Haidar 'Ali's serious illness had already aroused the suspicions of the people about his death. In a letter from Fort St. George dated January 28th it was stated : "On

1. An entry dated December 15, 1782 in *Memoirs of the late War in Asia* (p. 109) says : " He (Haidar 'Ali) died of an ulcer in his back which had inflicted him for seven years."

2. Wilks : *Historical Sketches of South India*, p. 167.

3. *Ibid.*, 168.

4. At Kolar is the mausoleum of Fateh Muhammad, father of Haidar 'Ali, who was born at Budikota, seven miles off that place, the vicinity having been held by Fateh Muhammad on a service tenure. Muhammad 'Ali, grandfather of Haidar Ali, and other members of the family were buried in the same tomb. (Bowring : *Eastern Experiences*). It was originally intended to bury Haidar 'Ali also there, but Tipū decided differently and the body was removed to Seringapatam where it was interred in Lal Bāgh.

the 10th December 1782 a letter from the Commanding Officer at Tri-passore, dated the 8th, mentioned that the current report of those parts was that, about 5 or 6 days ago, Hyder Ally went with his army to Chittore, there to celebrate a feast, and that he was since dead of the violent discharge of a Boil on his Back.¹ If Haidar died on December 7th, then the Commanding Officer at Tripassore (or Tiruppathur) came to have the news almost immediately, or probably he relied upon the rumour that must have become current in consequence of Haidar's serious illness. Macartney also wrote to the Governor-General on December 6th, that "Hyder some days since had moved from Maymundulum to Chittoor, where it is said he will pass the feast. By the most authentic account he is in a very declining state of health. It is indeed pretty confidently asserted among the black people that he is actually dead, but I do not give credit to it."² Three days after Macartney wrote again to the Governor-General enclosing a copy of a letter from Nawâb Wâlâjâh of Carnatic giving additional strength to the rumours of Haidar 'Ali's death. Nawâb Wâlâjâh's informant was one Faqir Muhammad, a commandant under Haidar 'Ali but formerly in the service of the Nawâb. He gave December 7th or 1st of Muharram as the date. Macartney in his letter commented that this event, if confirmed, should be used to the best advantage of the Company and himself promised that "every effort shall be made by me to turn so important an event to the best account."³

More information poured in as days passed. One Col. Malcolm wrote to Lord Macartney on December 21st that "his dubash⁴, who was taken prisoner by the enemy the last time the army marched to Vellore and made his escape yesterday at two in the morning from Conjeeveram and has just returned from there, says, that Hyder died fifteen days ago and that Hyder before he died had written to Tipu Sahib and one of his principal Sardars not to trust the French but to establish an alliance with the English before he quitted Carnatic."⁵ A more detailed account was sent to Major-General Stuart by one Murâd 'Ali, described as 'Amaldâr of Tripatore⁶ and General Stuart was one who least believed the news. Forwarding this letter to Sir Eyre Coote he made no comments on the news contained therein, implying that he regarded it as a mere rumour without foundation. The 'Amaldâr's letter was in Persian, and translated by one B. Clove it read : "Praise be to God for his benefits. The accursed Naik departed from this life on Thursday 28th Zee Hudge (4th December at 3 p.m. and from the expectation of Tippoo's arrival, matters were kept secret for three days and on the night of 1st Muharrum (6th of De-

1. Love: *Vestiges of Old Madras Records*, Volume III, p. 241.

2. *Secret Consultation*, December 31, 1782, No. 1-B, (Imperial Record Department)

3. *Ibid.*, January 6th, 1783, No. 1.

4. Interpreter, one knowing two languages.

5. *Secret Consultation*, January 10th 1783, No. 4

6. Tiruppattur, sub-division and taluk in Salem district

cember) his corpse was forwarded to Colar."¹ Murād 'Ali 'Amaldār of Tiruppattur wrote his letter on Muharram 2nd 1197 and while all other authorities agree that Haidar 'Ali died on Muharram 1st (December 6th-7th) his letter suggests December 4th 1782 as the date on which Haidar 'Ali died and December 7th as the date when his body was removed to Kolar. The source of information of the Commanding Officer of Tripasore and of Lord Macartney is perhaps the same as of this 'Amaldār of Tiruppattur, for their dates regarding Haidar 'Ali's death agree and imply that it occurred on December 4th 1782. It may be pointed out here that the *Tārikh* inscribed on Haidar 'Ali's tomb i.e. *Haidar 'Ali Khān Bahādur*, only gives 1195 Hijri as the year of death, while December 7th, 1782 corresponds to Muharram 1st 1197 A.H. and December 4th to 28th Dhil-Hajj 1196 A.H.²

Meanwhile Tipū's arrival was being anxiously awaited at the Court. Abū Muhammad Chaubdar had instantly sent word to Tipū informing him that the dead body was being taken to Kolar.³ Almost all the chiefs who were taken into confidence remained faithful to Tipū excepting one Muhammad Amir. He formed a project with Shams-ud-Din Bakhshi to install 'Abdul-Karim, Haidar's second son on the throne. A French officer called Boudeuot was also stated to have joined in this plot. This conspiracy however came very soon to the knowledge of the authorities and they dealt severely with the conspirators.⁴ Moreover Tipū's own personal popularity with the chiefs, the officers of the army and the soldiers had made his succession to the throne a certainty. He was undoubtedly much superior a person to his younger brother 'Abdul Karim, whom some chiefs were reported to be supporting. One Fath Muhammad Sepoy, who had managed to reach the Camp of Haidar 'Ali to have intelligence for the British, wrote that, "from conversation with his relations he could perceive that the army in general had the highest opinion of Tippoo's Humanity, and Abilities to command them and were highly confident that they would succeed while he remained at the head, but that their idea of Curreem Shāh was very different as they imagined he had neither experience nor good sense sufficient to guide him successfully in an important situation and that as far as he could judge there does not seem to be any room for the most distant hope that Tippoo will meet with any rival of consequence."⁵ Indeed there was not the ghost of a chance for any one else against Tipū, whose reputation as a prince was of the highest order.

The news of Haidar 'Ali's death was kept secret simply for military reasons. It was a great opportunity for the British to strike the Mysorian

1. Enclosure to General Stuart's letter to Sir Eyre Coote (Sec. Cons., January 10, 1783, No. 3).

2. See Brown's *Ephemeris* or Dr. Wustenfeld's *Vergleichungs-Tablellen der Muhammedanischen und Christlichen Zeitrechnung*.

3. Forrest: *Selections from Select Committee Proceedings*, Volume III, p. 916.

4. Wilks: *Historical Sketches of South India*.

5. *Secret Consultation*, January 10th, 1783.

army at a time when its leader was dead and his successor was far away. General Stuart, who alone was in a position to take such a step, was reluctant to believe the news received by him two days after Haidar Ali's death. When the Madras Government urged such an action he answered his immediate superiors that he did not believe that Haidar was dead, and if he were, the army would be ready for every action in proper time.¹ When pressed further for action he pleaded that the army was not in a state to embark on any undertaking against the enemy. This excuse was even more provocative, for on November 17th, 1782, the Madras Council had passed a resolution that "the army on its present establishment ought to be at all times ready to move," and General Stuart had assured the members that "upon any real emergency, the army might and must move and would be ready to do so." Wilks' comments are bitter on this pledge given by Stuart, and he describes it as "obviously lax and imprudent, under the circumstances of famine which divided the army and its equipments during the monsoon; but which either ought not to have been given, or ought to have been effectually redeemed on the real emergency of the death of Hyder."²

Sir Eyre Coote, who was at this time in Bengal recouping his shattered health, also lamented bitterly that at such an opportunity the army was unprepared for action. In a minute on the military proceedings of Fort St. George he wrote: "It needs not the assistance of argument to prove, how little my recommendation of keeping the army ready for immediate service has been attended to, its not having moved, at so important and favourable a crisis for obtaining advantages, as the death of Hyder Ali Cawn, is an unfortunate testimony thereof. Even the appearance of an army in the field on that event, would have produced the most salutary and beneficial effects. The dissensions incident to such an occurrence amongst the dependents of an usurped government, and the universal discontent which had been long known to reign amongst Hyder's troops, as well from personal dislike as from an aversion to the service which had now become in its nature one of great danger and fatigue, without the least prospect of either present or future advantage, would by an immediate advance of our army towards them, have been heightened to a part which in all probability would have terminated in the dispersion and final ruin of the dispirited remains of Hyder's Force. The bad consequences arising from the loss of this glorious opportunity are self-evident."³ Considering the exaggerated hopes entertained by Sir Eyre Coote, his bitterness is understandable. Because, when told of the news of Haidar 'Ali's death he had joyfully exclaimed: "It opens to us the fairest prospect of securing to the Mother Country the permanent and undisturbed possession of these Eastern dominions."⁴

1. Wilks: *Historical Sketches of South India*, p. 174.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

3. *Secret Consultation*, February 3, 1783, No. 5.

4. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1783.

Before any action could be taken by the British army Tipū reached the camp of his father. He had received his first news on the afternoon of December 11th and he left Malabar Coast on December 12th. On his way he met Arshad Bēg Khān and asked him to remain on the defensive at Palagautcherry. He reached the Pennar river, where his father's army was waiting for him on December 31st and next day he assumed the control of affairs. No ostentatious ceremonies were held on this occasion as a mark of respect to the late Nawāb.

At this time some chiefs, who were probably in the pay of the English advised Tipū to enter into an alliance with the East India Company. Even before he had reached his father's camp some attendants of Haidar 'Ali came to him and thus counselled him : "Collect your scattered forces at Colar and despatch a person with a letter of peace to the heads of the English army and if the Nawab Walajah desires anything as a recompence for the destruction of his Kingdom, settle matters by agreement and live contented in your Kingdom." A rumour was also spread that Haidar 'Ali had left instructions for Tipū to seek an alliance with the English. It was stated that Tipū had found, when he was employed in paying the last rites to his father's body, a small scrap of paper in one corner of Haidar's turban which contained the following words : " I have gained nothing by the war with the English, but am now alas ! no longer alive. If you, through fear of disturbances in your kingdom, repair thither without having previously concluded peace with the English, they will certainly follow you and carry the war into your country. On this account, it is better first to make peace on whatever terms you can procure, and then go to your own country."¹ These instructions ended by asking Tipū to establish contact with Srinivas Rao, Wakil of Sir Eyre Coote, with a view to making negotiations with the English. But Tipū was not to be taken in by such machinations. He did not conclude peace until the English asked for it and at that time (the Treaty of Mangalore) he appeared as a conqueror.²

In the political field of India the passing away of Haidar 'Ali was a very important event. He was looked upon as a bulwark of strength against the British. Indian princes of that time, though notoriously devoid of patriotism, could count upon him as a sure ally whenever they could combine to form an alliance against the British. In fact such an alliance was being canvassed at the courts of the Pēshwā and the Nizām just before Haidar 'Ali's death. Nānā had not yet signed the Treaty of Salbai and delayed it till December 20th, after he had received intelligence of the death of Haidar 'Ali.³ Among Indian rulers perhaps Nawāb Wālajah alone found greatest satisfaction in the passing away of Haidar 'Ali.

IRSHAD HUSAIN BAQAI.

1. Forrest : *Selections from Select Committee Proceedings*, Volume III, p. 916.

2. *Cambridge History of India*, Volume V, p. 333.

3. Forrest : *Selections from State Papers (Maratha Series)*, Volume I, Introduction, p. XXIII.

DEVIL'S DELUSION

TALBIS-IBLIS OF ABU'L-FARAJ IBN AL-JAWZI

(Continued from p. 79 of the January 1947 Issue)

ACCOUNT OF THE WAY WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES THE SŪFIS IN THEIR VIEWS ON KNOWLEDGE¹

YOU should know that these people, having neglected study, and in accordance with their doctrines restricted themselves to ascetic practice, have not restrained themselves from talking about the different branches of knowledge, giving utterance to their fancies, and committing gross errors. At times they talk of Qur'ān-interpretation, at others of Tradition, of jurisprudence, etc., subordinating these subjects to the implications of their particular form of knowledge. But God, to whom be glory, does not leave any age without persons to maintain His Code, refute the fabricators, and expose errors.

Some specimens of what they say about the Qur'ān

We have been told by Abū Mansūr 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Qazzāz after Abū Bakr Ahmād b. 'Alī b. Thābit² how the latter had been told by Abū'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Bajalī that he had heard Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Khuldī say : I was in the presence of our Shaikh al-Junāid when he was asked by Ibn Kaisān³ about the word of God (LXXXVII, 6) *We shall make thee read and thou shall not forget*; Junāid said "thou shalt not forget to act thereby." To a further question about the words (VII, 168) *and they have studied what is therein* Junāid replied that it meant "they neglected to act thereby." Ibn Kaisān said : May God not break thy mouthpiece!⁴

I would observe : as for his gloss "thou shalt not forget," it is groundless and clearly erroneous; for he interprets the text as a prohibition, whereas it is a statement, "thou art not about to forget." Had it been a

1. Continued from p. 353 of the Arabic text as a selection comprising pp. 351-3 was published in No. 4, 1937.

2. The story is from *Kitāb Baghdād*, VII, 246.

3. The work quoted adds "the grammarian."

4. Expression of admiration, for which the Prophet is quoted.

prohibition, the verb would have been in the jussive mood. Hence this gloss is contrary to the consensus of scholars. The same is the case with the other text *and they have studied what is therein*, where the verb *darsu* comes from the infinitive *darsī*, meaning to read, as in III, 73, not from *durus*, which means to be destroyed.

We have been told by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī a tradition going back to Ahmād b. Muḥammad b. Miqṣam, according to which the latter said: I was present when Abū Bakr ash-Shiblī was asked the meaning of the text (L, 36) *Verily there is therein a reminder to him that hath a heart, and replied "to him whose heart is God."*

We have been told by 'Umar b. Zafar a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. Jarīr¹ according to which the latter said: I heard Abū'l-'Abbās b. 'Atā,² when asked the sense of the text (XX, 41) *And we delivered thee from distress and tried thee severely*, reply 'We saved thee from distress about thy people and tempted thee with Ourselves away from all else.' This, I would observe, is an outrage on God's Book, and to ascribe being tempted with the love of Him to His interlocutor,³ and to make love of Him tempt, is atrocious.

We have been told by Abū Mansūr al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh ar-Rāzī,⁴ according to which the latter said: I heard Abū'l-'Abbās b. 'Atā say in explanation of the text (LVI, 88) *And if he is of those brought nigh, then comfort and abundance and a Garden of delight*, "the comfort is gazing on God's face; the abundance is listening to His speech; and the Garden of delight is not being screened therein from God." This, I would observe, is a fanciful utterance opposed to the sayings of the commentators. And indeed Abū 'Abd ar-Rahmān as-Sulāmī compiled out of their comments on the Qur'ān (most of them illicit prattle) some two volumes to which he gave the title "Truths of Interpretation." He quotes from them with reference to *The Opening of the Book*⁵ the assertion: "It is only so called as consisting in the first discourses which We have addressed to you.⁶ If you put this into practice, well and good; otherwise you will forfeit the choice sayings which follow."

I would observe that this is quite wrong, since the commentators are agreed that the "Opening" was not the first Sūrah revealed. Then *Amen* uttered by a man means according to him "directing ourselves towards Thee"; which also is quite wrong, since the word does not come from the group *Amm* for if it did, it would be *Ammin*.

1. Apparently the historian Ṭabarī is meant

2. Probably Ahmād b. Muḥammad b. Sahl b. 'Atā, died 309 or 311; account of him in *Lawāqib al-Anwār*, I, 125-128.

3. Moses, who is addressed in the passage.

4. Was in Baghdaḍ in 311. Notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdaḍ*, V, 437.

5. Name of the first Sūrah.

6. The sequel shows that the sentence refers to the Deity.

On the text (II, 79) *and if they come to you captive* he says: According to Abū 'Uthmān¹ "drowned in sins"; according to Al-Wāsīt² "drowned in the sight of their acts"; according to Junaid "bound in the affairs of this world"; *ye would ransom them unto the breaking off of these ties*. I would observe that the text is a remonstrance, the sense being "if you capture them, you take ransom for them, whereas if you fight with them, you slaughter them": and these people interpret it as a eulogy!

Muhammad b. 'Alī³ glossed (II, 222) *God saaveth the repentant* "from their repentance." An-Nūrī⁴ glossed (II, 246) *God grasps* and expands "i.e. He grasps thee with Him and expands thee to Him."⁵ And he glossed (III, 91) "*and whoso enters it shall be safe*" i.e. from the suggestions of his mind and the insinuations of Satan." This is exceedingly bad, since the text, though worked as a statement, has the sense of a command, the full force being "grant safety to any one who enters the sanctuary." These people interpret it as a statement, but they cannot make their interpretation correct, since many a man who enters the sanctuary is not safe from suggestions and insinuations.

He also states that Abū Turāb explained the text (IV, 35) *If ye avoid the capital offences which ye have been forbidden* of false pretences. Further that Sahl explained the *near neighbour* (of IV, 40) as "the heart," the *distant neighbour* as the soul, and the *son of the road* as the limbs. He also quotes Abū Bakr al-Warrāq⁶ for the comment on (XII, 24) *she desired him and he desired her* "both desires were hers; Joseph did not desire her." This, I must observe, contradicts the plain statement of the Qur'ān. The words (XII, 31) *this is not a human being* according to Muhammad b. 'Alī mean "this is not a suitable person to invite to intimacy." Az-Zinjāni⁷ asserted that the thunder is angels' cries and the lightning the sighing of their hearts, and the rain their tears. He (the author cited) further states that al-Husain commented on (XIII, 42) *and God's is the plotting altogether* thus: "there is no more conspicuous plotting therein than that of the Deity with His servants, when He causes them to fancy that there is a path to Him somehow,⁸ or that the created can be coupled with the uncreated."

I would observe that anyone who considers the meaning of this will know that it is pure infidelity, since it indicates that it (God's plotting) is a sort of frivolous sport. The Husain meant is, however, al-Hallāj, whom such a comment suits. And on (XV, 72) *la 'amruka*⁹ he comments "i.e. by peopling thy inner self with beholding Us."

1. Sa'īd b. Ismā'il al-Hīrī, died 298. Notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, IX 99-102.

2. Abū Bakr Muhammad b. Mūsa, died after 320. Notice of him in *Lawāqib al-Anwār*, I, 132.

3. Abū 'Abdillah at-Tirmidhi, of the 3rd Century. Notice of him in *Qushairī*, I, 164.

4. Abu'l-Husain Ahmad b. Muhammad, died 295. Notice of him in *Lawāqib al-Anwār*, I, 115.

5. Apparently the fault found is in the grammar.

6. His name was Muhammad b. 'Umar. Account of him in *Lawāqib al-Anwār*, I, 120, without dates.

7. His Kūnyah is given in the *Luma'* as Abū 'Amr.

8. Or perhaps "by a mystical state."

9. Ordinarily rendered "by thy life," addressed by the Deity to the Prophet

And indeed the whole book is composed of similar stuff ; it was my idea to reproduce much of it, but I decided that it would be a waste of time to write out what was either infidelity or erroneous or nonsensical. It is all in the "esoteric style" which we have been describing, and if anyone wants a general idea of its contents, this is a specimen ; if any one wants more, let him look at the book itself.

Abū Ṭaib as-Sarrāj mentions in the *Luma*¹ that the Sūfis elicit certain ideas from the Qur'ān, such as from (XII, 108, *I summon unto God in perspicacity*, of which al-Wāsiṭī asserts the sense to be "I do not see myself," and ash-Shiblī says in explanation of XVIII, 17,² "Wert thou to survey all that is beside Us, thou wouldest turn away therefrom, fleeing unto Us." I would observe that this is not admissible, since the Divine Speaker only meant the Seven Sleepers. Thus as-Sarrāj calls these comments "elicitations" in his book !

Abū Ḥāmid at-Tūsī³ in his Chapter *Censure of Wealth* comments thus on the text (XIV, 38) *preserve me and my sons from worshipping idols* : "He means gold and silver, since the prophetic rank is too exalted to admit of the fear that they might worship gods and idols ; so by their worship he must mean love of them and being deceived by them." This, I may observe, is not said by any of the commentators. And indeed Shu'aib says (VII, 87) *And it is not for us to return to it*⁴ unless God our Lord so will ; and it is common knowledge that inclination to polytheism is excluded in the case of prophet by their infallibility, not because it is impossible. Further, Abraham in the former text couples with himself persons who might conceivably become polytheists and unbelievers and so may well introduce himself among them saying *preserve me and my sons* ; it is well known that the Arabs are his sons, and most of them were idolatrous.

We have been told by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. 'Abd al-Khāliq a tradition going back to Abū Ḥafṣ b. Shāhin⁵ according to which the latter said : Certain of the Sūfis have said unlawful things about the Qur'ān itself, e.g. on the text (III, 187) *Verily in the creation of the heavens and the earth and the alternation of night and day there are signs to those that have brains* glossing "signs to Me," thus attaching to God what He attached to "those that have brains," which is altering the Qur'ān ; and on (XXI, 81) *And to Solomon the wind*, "and Solomon to Me."⁶

We have been told by Ahmad b. 'Ali b. Khalaf after Abū 'Abd ar-Rahmān as-Sulamī that Abū Ḥamzah al-Khurāṣānī said : Some people

1. The passage to which the author refers occurs on p. 109 of Nicholson's edition.

2. The words "in explanation of the text (*Wert thou to survey them, thou wouldest turn away from them in flight*) have evidently dropped out of the text. Ash-Shiblī's comment is quoted in the *Luma*', p. 112.

3. Ghazzālī, *Īyā*, III, 771, line 12.

4. Idolatry.

5. Died 385. His name was 'Umar b. Ahmad b. 'Uthmān. Notices of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, XI, 260, and *Tabaqāt al-Huffāz*, XII, 75.

6. I.e. "we subjected."

will be stopped¹ in Paradise, being told (LXIX, 24) *Eat and drink in comfort for that which ye sent before you in past days*; God diverting them from Himself by food and drink. No plot could surpass this, and no woe could be more terrible.

I would observe: Consider, God guide you, this folly, and the designation of God's bounty as a plot! According to this person's doctrine the blessed prophets do not eat or drink, but are exclusively occupied with God. What audacity to use such evil words! Is it permissible to attribute "plotting" to God in the ordinary meaning of the term? "Plotting" and "deception" as applied to the Deity mean only that He repays those who plot and deceive. I am truly amazed that these persons, who are so scrupulous about a morsel or an expression, indulge in such licence in the interpretation of the Qur'an.

We have been told by 'Ali b. 'Ubaidallāh, Ahmad b. al-Hasan, and 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muḥammad a tradition going back to Jundub² according to which the latter said: The Prophet said: Whoso speaks about the Qur'an according to his own notion errs even if he speak aright.

We have been told by Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad a tradition going back to Sa'id b. Jubair³ after Ibn 'Abbās, according to which the prophet said: Whoso speaks about the Qur'an according to his own notion had better prepare for himself a place in Hell.

There has also been related to us a story about some of them, dealing with the "plotting," which it shocks me to report, only by doing so I am calling attention to the atrocity of these ignorant people's fancies. We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabib a tradition going back to Abū 'Abdallāh b. Khafif⁴ according to which the latter said: I heard Ruwaim⁵ say: One night in Syria⁶ there was an assembly of Shaikhs, who said: We have never experienced so agreeable a night, so come let us discuss some question so that our night may not be wasted. They said: Let us talk about Love, since that is the people's mainstay.⁷ Each proceeded to speak according to his view. Among them was 'Amr b. 'Uthmān al-Makki,⁸ who had to go out to the court of the house. It was a moonlit night, and he found a slip of parchment with writing on it, which he took and brought to the others. Friends, he said, you may keep still, for here is your reply. Look at the contents of this message. It was found to contain the words: A plotter, a plotter, and you all profess to love Him. They parted, some of them putting on pilgrim attire, and only met at the Feast.

1. i.e. from full consummation.

2. Died during the civil war of Ibn az-Zubair (64-73). Notice of him in the *Tahdhib*, II, 118.

3. Executed by al-Hajjāj in 95. Notice of him in the same work, IV, 11.

4. Muḥammad ad-Dabbī, died 371. Notice of him in *Lauḍqīb al-Anwār*, I, 160.

5. Ibn 'Ahmad; his *kunyah* was doubtful. Died 330. Notice of him in *Kitāb Baghādād*, VIII, 430. See also *Table-talk*, part II, p. 180.

6. Or, perhaps, Damascus.

7. i.e. the basis of Sufism.

8. Died 291. Notice of him in *Lauḍqīb al-Anwār*, I, 117.

I would observe that this is an improbable story, and Ibn Khafif is untrustworthy. If it is true, then Satan must have thrown down that parchment, though these people falsely supposed it to be a message from God. We have explained that the meaning of plotting as ascribed to God is repaying for plotting. To apply the term to Him generally is worse than ignorance and worse than folly.

We have been told by Ibn Zafar a tradition going back to al-Khuldī, according to which the latter said : I heard Ruwaim say : God has hidden certain things in others : He has hidden His plotting in His knowledge ; His deception in His kindness ; His punishments in the category of His miracles.

This is confusion and audacity of the same sort as before.

We have been told by Muhammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to al-Hasan b. 'Alawāī¹ according to which the latter said : Abū Yazīd went to visit a brother² of his, and when he got to the river Oxus, the banks of the river came together for him. He said : O Lord, what is this secret plot ? By Thy might, I have not served Thee for this ! So he turned back and did not cross. I also, said as-Sahlakī,³ heard the aforementioned⁴ Muhammad b. Ahmad relate how Abū Yazīd said : Whoso knows God becomes a janitor to Paradise, and Paradise becomes a misfortune to him.

It is, I would observe, terrible audacity to attribute plotting to God, and to make of Paradise, which is the ultimate desire, a misfortune. If it be a misfortune to "those who know," what must it be like to others ! The source of all this is ignorance and misunderstanding.

We have been told by Ibn Ḥabīb a tradition going back to Ahmad b. al-'Abbās al-Muḥallabī according to which the latter said : I heard Taifūr (Abū Yazīd) say : Those who know, when they visit the Deity in the next world, are of two classes : one, who visit Him when and where they will ; another, who visit Him once, and never again. How so ? he was asked. He replied : When those who know see Him for the first time, He makes for them a market, wherein is no buying or selling, only forms of men and women ; any one of them who enters that market never again visits the Deity. Abū Yazīd further said : He deceives thee with the market in this world, and with the market in the next world ; so thou art always a slave of the market.

I would observe that calling Paradise a deception and a cause of exclusion from the Deity is gross ignorance. The "market" will be appointed for them as a reward, not as a deception ; if permission be accorded then to take what is in the market, and they are afterwards punished by being forbidden to visit, the reward will have become a punishment. And whence does he learn that whoso selects anything out of the market will

1. Al-Qattān, died 298.

2. Probably means a friend, or fellow-Sūfī.

3. One of the transmitters of the last tradition ; the vocalization of his name is uncertain.

4. The person mentioned was Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm.

not visit the Deity again nor ever see Him ? We implore God's protection from this confusion, this arbitrary assertion, and making statements about mysteries known only to a prophet.

Whence, indeed, does he know them, and what becomes of such sayings as that of Abū Hurairah, the transmitter of traditions, to Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib : May God bring us together in the market of Paradise ! Do you suppose that he desired to be punished with distance from the Deity ? Nay, it is these people who are distant from knowledge, and whose satisfaction with their vain fancies has involved them in this confusion. A man ought to know that thoughts and imaginings are the fruits of his knowledge, so that if a man knows, his thoughts will be sound, being the fruits of knowledge, whereas if he be ignorant the fruits of his ignorance will be uniformly erroneous.

I saw in the handwriting of Ibn 'Uqail : " Abū Yazid, passing by a Jewish graveyard, said : What are these that Thou shouldst punish them ? A handful of bones, whose doom has overtaken them ! Forgive them ! "

I would observe that this is a display of ignorance. The expression "a handful of bones" is one of contempt for the human being, for a Believer too when he dies becomes a handful of bones. " Whose doom has overtaken them " the same was Pharaoh's case. The prayer " Forgive them " displays ignoranc of the Code : the Deity has stated that association of others with Himself will not be forgiven to one who dies in unbef- lief (IV, 51). If this person's intercession would be accepted, then that of Abraham for his father would have been accepted (LX, 4), and that of the Prophet Muhammad for his mother.¹ God protect us from ignorance !

We have been told by Abu'l-Waqt 'Abd al-Awwal b. 'Isa a tradition going back to Abū Naṣr as-Sarrāj,² to the effect that Ibn Salim used to say : Abū Yazid, passing by a Jewish graveyard, said " Excusable," and passing by a Muslim graveyard said " Duples." Of this as-Sarrāj offers the following explanation. Probably, he says, considering the damnation which had been predestined for them from eternity without any action of their own, and how God had made His wrath their portion, he said " They are excusable."³

I would observe that as-Sarrāj's explanation is improper, since it would involve that neither Pharaoh nor anyone else was to be punished.

Now some specimens of what they say about tradition and other matters. We have been told by Abū Mānsūr al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to 'Abdallāh son of Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, according to which the latter said :⁴ Abū Turāb an-Nakhshabī⁵ came to my father, who began saying,

1. This refers to a tradition in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, V, 355, according to which the Prophet was seen weeping, and explained that he had been asking permission to pray for his mother, and been refused.

2. The story is taken from the *Lūma'*, pp. 391, 392. This author charges Ibn Salim with undue hostility to Abū Yazid.

3. Text corrected from the *Lūma'*.

4. This story comes from *Kitāb Baghḍād*, XII, 316 ; its author is mentioned in the series of transmitters.

5. 'Askar b. al-Husain, died 245.

So-and-so is weak, So-and-so is trustworthy : Abū Turāb said, Shaikh, do not malign the learned. Turning to him, my father said : Nay, this is counsel, not slander.

We have been told by Yahya b. 'Alī al-Mudabbir a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Abbāsī, according to which the latter said : We were with 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Abī Hātim,¹ who was reading out to us his *Book of Discrediting and Approving*,² and said : I shall reveal the characters of the learned, showing which of them is trustworthy, and which untrustworthy. Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusain³ said to him : I am ashamed of you,⁴ Abū Muḥammad ; how many of these people a century or two centuries ago have come to rest in Paradise, while you, here on earth, malign their names ! 'Abd ar-Rahmān burst into tears, and said : Abū Ya'qūb, had I heard this saying before I composed this book, I should never have composed it.

I would observe : God forgive Ibn Hātim ! Had he been a jurist, he would have replied to him as Ahmad b. Hanbal replied to Abū Turāb : Were it not for "discrediting and approving," how would the genuine be distinguished from the spurious ? Further, the fact of these people being in Paradise does not prevent our mentioning them with their appropriate descriptions ; to call this maligning is improper language. Besides, if a man does not know the principles of "discrediting and approving," how can his words give a certificate of veracity ? Yūsuf had better had occupied himself with the wonders narrated of him than with this sort of talk.⁵

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb a tradition going back to Abu'l-Abbās b. 'Atā,⁶ according to which the latter said : Whoso knows God refrains from bringing his needs before Him, knowing that God is the One who knows about his affairs.

This, I would observe, bars the door against petition and prayer, and is a display of ignorance.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Khairūn a tradition said to have been read to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ahwāzī⁷ as follows : I heard Abū Bakr Dulaf the Ṣūfī (or, he may have said ash-Shiblī) say, when asked by a lad why he said "God" instead of saying

1. His father's name was Muḥammad b. Idrīs ; he died 327. Notices of him in *Shajarat adh-Dhahab*, II, 308 and *Lisān al-Miṣrān*, III, 432. In the latter work it is stated that there is an exhaustive biography of him in the *Kitāb Baghḍād*, whose author is the transmitter here ; I have not been able to find it in the printed edition.

2. i.e. of transmitters of Traditions.

3. A Ṣūfī whose orthodoxy was doubted, died 304. Account of him in *Kitāb Baghḍād*, XIV, 314-319.

4. This seems to be the sense, but the syntax is unusual.

5. In the *Kitāb Baghḍād*, i.e. there is a story of a letter descending from heaven declaring Yūsuf innocent of the charges brought against him.

6. His name was Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Ādāmī, died 309. Accounts of him in *Kitāb Baghḍād*, V, 26-30 and *Lauḍāqīh al-Anwār*, I, 125-128.

7. If this person be the one of that name of whom there is an account in *Kitāb Baghḍād*, II, 218-219, who lived 345-428, he cannot have heard Shiblī himself, as the latter died in 344.

"There is no god but God"; I am ashamed of putting something positive after a negation. The lad said he wanted a stronger plea than that. Ash-Shiblī replied: I am afraid of being taken while uttering the negation and never getting to the affirmation.¹

I would observe: Consider this subtlety! The Prophet used to enjoin the utterance of "There is no god but God," and encourage it. In both *Ṣaḥīḥ* it is recorded that he used to say at the termination of each regular prayer, "There is no god but God only; He hath no associate," and when he rose up for the nightly prayer, "There is no god but Thou;" and he mentioned the great reward earned by one who utters "There is no god but God." Consider then this defiance of the Code, and choice of something which the Prophet did not choose!

We have been told by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī a tradition going back to 'Abdallāh b. 'Ali as-Sarrāj² according to which the latter said: I have been informed how Abū'l-Husain an-Nūrī was charged with saying, when he heard a Mu'adhdhin calling to prayer, "May some deadly poison penetrate him," and when he heard a dog bark, "I wait upon Thy service and upon aiding Thy cause";³ being asked about this, he replied: I resent this Mu'adhdhin's mentioning God negligently, taking pay for doing so, whereas otherwise he would not have called to prayer, and for this reason I cursed him; whilst the dog makes mention of God without hypocrisy. For God says (XXII, 46) *Nought is there but chants His praise*.

I would observe: Consider, my friends (God keep us all from error!) this juristic subtlety, and elicitation of the true path!

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb a tradition going back to Abū Ya'qūb al-Kharrāṭ, according to which the latter had been told as follows by an-Nūrī: Seeing a man take hold of his own beard I said to him: Remove your hand from God's beard! The matter was brought to the notice of the Caliph, search was made for me, and I was arrested. When I appeared before the Caliph, he said to me: I have been told that when a dog barked you said "I wait upon Thy service and upon aiding Thy cause," but that when the Mu'adhdhin uttered the call to prayer you said "May he be poisoned." Yes, I said, God says *Nought is there but chants His praise*, so I said "I wait upon Thy service," because the dog had made mention of God. As for the Mu'adhdhin, he being steeped in sin and negligent of God makes mention of Him. The Caliph proceeded to ask about my saying to the man: Remove your hand from God's beard. I said: True, is not the man, his beard, and everything both in this world and in the next God's?

I would observe: It is ignorance which has plunged these people into this confusion. What led the man to fancy that an attribute of possession is a personal attribute?⁴

1. *I.e.* he might die with the words "There is no god" on his lips.

2. This story does not seem to be found in this author's *Luma'*.

3. Formula preceding the recitation of the *Fātiḥah*. Translation according to Lane.

4. The meaning seems to be: to say that a beard belongs to God is very different from saying that He is bearded.

We have been told by Ibn Habib a tradition going back to Ahmad b. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-'Aziz¹ according to which the latter said : I heard ash-Shibli say when asked about knowledge : I tell you, one who says Allāh knows not Allāh ; by Allāh had they known Him they would not have said it.

The transmitter of the above (Ibn Bakuyah) proceeds : And I heard Abu'l-Qāsim Ahmad b. Yūsuf al-Baradāni say : I heard ash-Shibli say one day to a man who to his question as to his name replied, Adam : Wretch, do you know what Adam did ? He sold his Lord for a mouthful. Further, he used to say : Praise to Him who has given me the excuse of melancholia.²

The same transmitter proceeds : And I heard Bakran b. Ahmad al-Jili say : Ash-Shibli had a companion, who informed him that he wished to repent. Ash-Shibli said to him : Sell your property, pay your debts, and divorce your wife. The man did so. Then he said to him : Make orphans of your children by causing them to despair of having any connexion with you. The man agreed. Then he produced some scraps which he had collected, and bade the man throw them before the poor³ and eat with them.

We have been told by Abu'l-Mużaffar 'Abd al-Mun'im b. 'Abd al-Karīm that his father had informed him as follows : I heard, he said, one of the " poor " say : I heard Abu'l-Hasan al-Harrāqāni say, " There is no god but God " from the interior of the heart, " Muhammad is God's apostle " without thinking.⁴

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabib a tradition going back to Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Halfa'i⁵ according to which the latter said : Ash-Shibli, seeing a young lad in the public bath without a bathing dress, said to him : My lad, cover your nakedness. The lad replied : Be quiet, foolish man. If you are upon the truth, you will witness nothing but the truth ; if you are upon the false, you will witness nothing but the false. For the truth is occupied with truth, and falsehood with falsehood.⁶

We have been told by Abū Bakr Muhammad b. Abī Tāhir a tradition going back to 'Ali b. al-Muḥaṣṣin at-Tanūkī, which he had from his father.⁷ I was told, he said, the following by Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd ar-Rahīm b. Ja'far as-Šīrafi the jurist. I was present, he said, in Shirāz, at the court of the Qādī of the place, Abū Sa'd Bishr b. al-Hasan ad-Dāwūdī, when there came before him a Ṣūfi man, and a Ṣūfi woman. Now Sufism is there very rampant, he observed ; it is said that the men and women who follow that system are in thousands. The woman demanded the help of

1. Called Abū Bakr al-Washša, died 301. Notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, V, 56.

2. Apparently the meaning is that this ailment would excuse moral defects.

3. Perhaps this should rather be " the dervishes "

4. The text has been amended, though not certainly. Since we have a series of anecdotes about ash-Shibli, it is likely that some words have been lost.

5. Probably this *nisbah* is corrupt.

6. The lad evidently accepted the extreme consequences of pantheism.

7. The story is from the *Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, Part II, Section 113.

the Qādi against her husband, and when they presented themselves she said to him : Qādi, this husband of mine wants to divorce me, which he has no right to do ; will you please stop him ? The Qādi Abū Sa'd, who disapproved of the Sūfi systems, showed surprise, then said to her : How do you mean that he has no right to do this ? She said : Because when he married me his intent on me was stable, and now he states that his intent has ceased from me, whereas my intent on him is stable and has not ceased. He must wait till my intent has ceased from him even as his intent has ceased from me. Abū Sa'd said to me : What do you think of this jurisprudence ? He then reconciled the parties and they went away without divorce.

Abū Hāmid at-Tūsi in his "Revival"¹ states that one of them said : "Lordship contains a mystery by the revelation of which prophethood would be annulled ; prophethood contains a mystery by the divulging of which knowledge would be annulled ; and those who know God possess a mystery whereby, if they were to disclose it, the commandments would be annulled."

I would observe : Consider, my brethren, this offensive nonsense, and the allegation that the letter of the Code contradicts its inner meaning.

Abū Hāmid says :² A young son of one of the Sūfis was lost, and it was suggested to the father to ask God to restore him. The Sūfi answered : Resistance on my part to God's decree would be more painful to me than the loss of my child.

I would observe : I have long wondered how Abū Hāmid can relate these utterances with approval and consent, though he was aware that prayer and petition are not resistance.

Ahmad al-Ghazzālī³ says : A Jew presented himself to the Sūfi Abū Sa'id b. Abi'l-Khair⁴ saying : I wish to become a Muslim at thy hand. Do not wish it, said Abū Sa'id. The people gathered together saying : Shaikh, do you forbid him to accept Islam ? Abū Sa'id then said to the man : You wish this decidedly ? The man said : I do. Abū Sa'id said : You give up yourself and your possessions ? The man said : I do. This, said Abū Sa'id, is what I mean by *Islam* (abandonment); now convey him to the Shaikh Abū Hāmid,⁵ to learn the "no, no" of the hypocrites, meaning the formula "There is no god but God."

I would observe that the impropriety of this language is too obvious for censure ; it is indeed most atrocious.

A story of discouraging conversion to Islam similar to this was told us by Abū Mansūr al-Qazzāz on the authority of Abū Bakr b. Thābit⁶

1. *Iḥyā*, I, 81, line 24.

2. *Iḥyā*, IV, 273, line 7, where it is added that the boy was not heard of for three days.

3. Clearly a different person from the famous Ghazzālī.

4. Famous ascetic, 357-440. A Persian account of his sayings and doings called *Asrār at-Tauhid* was published by Zhukovski, St. Petersburg, 1899.

5. A Shaikh Abū Hāmid Dostan is brought into connexion with Abū Sa'id in the work quoted, p. 339.

6. It is told in *Kitāb Baghādī*, VII, 352. The text has been corrected thence.

who had it on the authority of various members of the Masargis family. Al-Hasan and al-Husain (he says) were brothers, sons of 'Isa b. Masargis, who rode with him, and whose beauty and equipment struck people with amazement. Having agreed to adopt Islam they went to call on Hafṣ b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān in order to accept it at his hand. He said to them: You are among the most distinguished of the Christians. Now 'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak¹ has gone on pilgrimage this year, and if you were to accept Islam at his hand this would win you more honour among the Muslims, and increase your dignity and importance, since he is admittedly Shaikh of the East and the West. So they departed, but al-Husain fell ill and died as a Christian before the arrival of Ibn al-Mubārak; on his arrival al-Hasan accepted Islam.

I would observe that this disaster was brought on by sheer ignorance, and the amount of the man's knowledge may be gauged thereby. Had he known anything at all, he would have told them to accept Islam at once, since that may not be delayed one moment. Still the fact that Abū Sa'īd said to the Jew what he did is more extraordinary, since the latter wanted to accept it.

Abū Naṣr as-Sarrāj in his book *Lum'a* (traits of the Sūfis)² says Sahl b. 'Abdallāh used to say to any of his friends who was ailing: When you want to complain say *Auh*, which is one of the names of God, and will comfort the Believer; do not say *Aukh*, for that is one of Satan's names.³

These then are specimens of these people's language and juristic attainments; they indicate how little they know, how they misunderstand, and how frequently they err. Now I have heard Abū 'Abdallāh al-Husain b. 'Ali al-Muqrī recite a tradition going back to Muhammad son of Muhammad b. Idrīs ash-Shāfi'i, according to which he had heard his father say: I associated with the Sūfis for ten years, and got nothing from them but these two maxims: Time is a sword; and the best protection is incapacity.

D.S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(To be continued).

1. 218-281, traditionalist, but famous in many other ways. His biography in *Kitāb Baghdād*, X, 152-169, is one of the longest in the work.

2. Ed. Nicholson, p. 203, whence the text has been corrected.

3. In the list of divine names given in *Qit al-Qulūb*, I, 11, the Hebrew *Yahu* comes near Sahl's name; the source of this name for Satan is obscure.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

I. University Convocation :

AT the Convocation of the Osmania University on 16th February, after the regular award of degrees, certificates and medals to various students of the University who were declared successful in the University examinations and recommended by the Deans of their respective faculties, the following honorary degrees were conferred :— (a) LL.D. on Sir John Sargent, (b) D.Litt. on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, and (c) D.Sc. on Sir C.V. Raman. The Convocation Address was delivered by Sir John Sargent, Educational Adviser to the Government of India. It dealt mainly with his happy undergraduate life at Oxford and the influence of environment at a residential University in forming character. At the conclusion he wished that when the call to action will come to the students of the Osmania University they "will hear it and answer it worthily."

II. Names of Foreign Scientists who visited Hyderabad during January and February 1947 :

(a) *U.S.A.* :—(1) Prof. E.N. Harvey, Prof. of Biology, Princeton University ; (2) Dr. Oscar Riddle, Prof. of Experimental Evolution, Carnegie Institute ; (3) Dr. Harlow Shapley, Director, Harvard College Observatory ; (4) Prof. A.F. Blakeslee, Director, Genetic Experimental Station, Smith College ; (5) Dr. W. Edwards Denning, Sampling Adviser, Bureau of the Budget, Washington.

(b) *Britain* :—(1) Sir C.G. Darwin, Director, National Physical Laboratory ; (2) Sir Arthur Fleming, Director of Research Metropolitan Vickers Electrical Co. ; (3) Prof. H.M. Fox, Prof. of Zoology, Bedford College, London ; (4) Prof. W. Brown, Prof. of Plant Pathology, Imperial College of Science and Technology, London ; (5) Sir Harold Spencer Jones, Astronomer Royal, England ; (6) Prof. P.B. White, National Institute of Medical Research, London.

(c) *Canada* :— (1) Dr. Robert W. Boyle, Director of the National Research Laboratories, Ottawa ; (2) Dr. W.F. Hanna, Plant Pathologist, Dominion Research Laboratory ; (3) Dr. T.L. Tanton, Senior Geologist Geological Survey of Canada ; (4) Prof. R.B. Thomson, Emeritus Prof. of Botany, University of Toronto.

(d) *France* :— (1) Prof. Jacques Hadamard, Emeritus Prof. of Mathematics, College de France.

(e) *Russia* :— Prof. P. Volgin, Vice-President, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences ; (2) Prof. U. Omarov, Prof. of Physics, Tashkent University ; (3) Prof. L. Pavlovsky, Prof. of Biology, Leningrad University.

Sir H.S. Jones and S. Shapley visited the Nizamiah Observatory on 14th January and discussed with its staff schemes of further development.

Some of the Foreign Scientists delivered semitechnical or popular lectures also at various institutions of the Osmania University.

Prof. J. Hadamard's series of six special lectures on *Scientific Determinism and Huygens's Principle* continued from 5th February to the 11th ; the 1st and 3rd lectures were held at the Nizam College and the remaining four at the Osmania University.

III. *The Diamond Jubilee of the Nizam College :*

It was inaugurated by His Exalted Highness the Nizam on 19th February ; there was a Garden Fete the same evening. Extensive programmes of interesting events followed on subsequent dates, such as Urdu and English debates, Variety Show, Cricket, Tennis, Football and Hockey Festival Matches, ending finally with Sports and Dinner on the 23rd February.

IV. *Inauguration of Hyderabad Legislative Assembly :*

This took place at the Town Hall, Hyderabad, on 17th February, with a gracious message from H.E.H. the Nizam, and was followed by appropriate speeches from the President of the Executive Council and the President of the Assembly.

V. *Lunar Aurora :*

"*Sky and Telescope*, (September, 1946), Harvard, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. contains a short note on the above subject which deals with a suggestion made by Prof. Mohd. A.R. Khan, Hyderabad, in *Popular Astronomy* of June. This suggestion is that auroral phenomena would occur on the portion of the Moon's surface that is lighted up by earth-shine should there be any appreciable atmosphere on our satellite."—*Nature*, London, Vol. 158, No. 4025, December 21, 1946, p. 907.

The subject is further discussed in *Popular Astronomy* of October 1946, by G. Herzberg of the Yerkes Observatory, Williams Bay, Wisconsin, U.S.A.

M.A.R.K.

DECCAN

Bahā'ullāh and the New Era.

VERY recently the Bahā'ī Publishing Committee, Poona, has published the *Bahā'ullāh and the New Era*. The Bahā'ī Religion or the Religion of Love was founded by two well-known exponents of Iran. Bāb and Bahā'ullāh, the former playing the Baptist to the latter. Bahā'ullāh considered himself to be the promised Messiah. An account of the life and teachings of the founder is here given and the general principles of the system of thought and conduct are also sketched. Bahā'ullāh was a martyr to persecution but his life reveals love for mankind and of God. The most heroic part of his life is revealed in his fervent appeals to the eminent statesmen and crowned heads of the West in the nineteenth century to hearken to the voice of God. His son 'Abdul Bahā, who was his successor to the seat, carried on the work of acquainting the world with writings and 'prophecies' of his father-founder. The Bahā'ī religion has now many followers who professedly seek to live the life of love of man without any difference of race and preach the doctrine of inner purity and consecration to the love of God. This publication also contains the extracts of the writings and other works of Bahā'ullāh. To cite just one passage: "O son of Being ! Love me that I may love thee. If thou lovest Me not, My love can in nowise reach thee. Know this O servant. O son of wondrous Vision ! I have breathed within thee a breath of My own Spirit that thou mayest be My lover. Why hast thou forsaken Me and sought a beloved other than Me (95)." This book may be taken to be an authoritative history of the Bahā'ī Faith.

Muslim Coins from Navsari (Gujarat).

Dr. J.M. Unvala writes in the course of some *Numismatic Notes* in the latest issue of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (VII, pts. I, II) that "while repairing the private road of the town of Navsari to the Tower of Silence, fifteen bullion coins of the Sultans of Delhi were found scattered in loose earth. They are interesting from the standpoint of the local history of Navsari, where such finds are extremely rare." Three Khalji (of Alā'u'd-Dīn and Quṭbū'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh) and three Tughlaq (of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughlaq and Muḥammad Tughlaq)

are worthy of notice. It will be more interesting to note here authoritatively that Navsari has been a much haunted place by the Musalmans from very early days. It is mentioned by the Arab geographer Dimishqī who has given much attention to Gujarat and he says Navsari is a third city, farther Sopara and it was then a big Gulf. Besides, even to this day the Jum'a Masjid of Navsari contains one important inscription of Muhammād Tughlaq's reign which shows that a fort was prepared by Malik Maqbūl during his reign. Details of Malik Maqbūl's activities in Gujarat during the reign of Muhammād Tughlaq are given in the *Firōz Shāhī* of Barni (pp. 512-13). In this respect the historical importance of Navsari will be obvious.

Some Unique Coins found in Bihar :

Mr. S.A. Shere has described some coins in his Patna museum (vide the above referred to *Numismatic Journal*). They concern the Sultāns of Bengal and Bahmani Sultāns of Gulbarga. One coin of 'Ala'ud-Dīn Husain Shāh of Bengal bears Muhammādābād as mint on it although it is not in perfect condition. It was necessary that it must have been carefully identified in the survey map of India. One more coin of Ghīyāthūd-Dīn Mahmūd Shāh of Bengal is described, whom Mr. Shere regards as one of the eighteen sons of Sultān 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Shāh of Bengal. Its reverse bears the legend :

السلطان الفاتح الظاهر وكته وجاجنگواريس علاؤ الدین والد بن ابو المظفر

with which we are concerned here and it shows that he was the conqueror of places like Kamru (Kamrup), Kamtah, Jajnagar and Orissa. Really it is an extraordinary find with so many mint names on one coin. It reflects that he had conquered these places and thus gave their names on his coins in commemorating his victory over these places. It was a very important point for the writer on coins to work out this problem.

Fathābād as a Mint Town of the Bahmani Sultāns :

Capt. P.S. Tarapore of Hyderabad Deccan says (in the above referred to *Numismatic Journal*) that only a few but extremely rare Bahmani silver tankas with the mint-name Fathābād فتح باد are known. According to him this mint Fathābād is only found on Muhammād Shāh Bahmani's coins ranging from 761 to 766 which are in his collection. Fathābād, the modern Dhārūr, is situated in Bir district of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions. But by quoting the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* (p. 17) he has concluded that this Fathābād is no other than that of Daulatabad or Deogir, and not Dhārūr in Bir district. The substance of this passage of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* runs thus :

"It is related in the account of Sultān 'Alā'ud-Dīn Bahman Shāh that when Qēr Khān obtained Kotur Jagir, laid siege to Kalyani. After taking Kalyani he wrote to the Sultān giving him news of his victory, who being much pleased with the victory ordered the drum of rejoicing to be beaten in the city of Daulatābād, called Fathābād. The rejoicings were continued for one week." It is just possible that 'Alā'ud-Dīn out of jealousy against the Tughlaqs might have given this name of Fathābād to Daulatābād which was originally given by Muhammad Tughlaq. It will, no doubt, create a greater interest to know that the same Dhārūr was also named Fathābād during the Nizām Shāhī regime as this also has been mentioned by the author of the *Burhān-i-Mā'āthir* (p. 446). During the reign of Murtāḍa Nizām Shāh (A.H. 972-996) Dhārūr was captured and Farhād Khān and Changēz Jahān were appointed to keep order in the city. When the Sultān Murtāḍa Nizām Shāh himself entered that lofty fort, he renamed it Fathābād? It was not Shāhjahān who had renamed Dhārūr as Fathābād. Bādshāh Nāma and other Mughal histories unanimously mention that Dhārūr was already called Fathābād.

Mint Sultānpūr :

Mr. Hurmuz Kaus has described one important coin with a necessary illustration (*vide* the above referred to *Numismatic Journal*). It might create a controversy. It is inscribed thus:— obverse مدل محمد ثانہ سلطانپور reverse مختار سلطانپور Mr. Hurmuz attributes this coin to Muhammad Tughlaq but we advise him to see it once again very carefully. He will come to know that it in reality belongs to Muhammad Shāh 'Alā'ud-Dīn Khalji and not Muhammad Tughlaq. The coins of 'Alā'ud-Dīn Khalji generally bear the same inscriptions. Mr. Hurmuz takes this mint Sultānpūr noted on this copper coin as Warangal which was also renamed Sultānpūr. But this Sultānpūr of this coin is different from that of Warangal and it is certainly in the north which is also found on Balban's coins.

An Ivory Box of Chānd Bibi :

Baroda State Museum Bulletin (II, pt. 2) contains an article on this heading by Dr. Herman Goetz, the curator of the Baroda Museum. He has illustrated his article with an illustration of the top of an ivory box which bears three figures in three separate insets as a decorative panel. The figure in the middle which looks to be female figure, Dr. Goetz takes as the portrait of Chānd Bibi and thus attributes this ivory box to her. He says the figure on the top is of Ibrāhim II of Bijāpūr, while he was young; and the third one at the bottom, according to the writer, must be of the prime minister, Kāmil Khān. It is very difficult to agree to the writer's views unless we have some inscriptive evidence or some reference from history of the court.

Calligraphy .

To link up our activities in this respect we draw the attention of the readers of *Islamic Culture* to its issue of the July, 1944 in which we had noted the specimens of calligraphy of great calligraphists like Arghu'l-Kāmli and 'Abdullāh as-Şayrafi, who were the pupils of the great calligraphist Yāqūt Musta'simi (d. 698 A.H.), particularly of the latter in the Kutub Khāna Āṣafiyā, Hyderabad. Fortunately we have come across some other similar specimens of great calligraphists upon whom the development of Muslim calligraphy depends much. These specimens were found in the exhibition at Delhi which was held there in connection with the Silver Jubilee of Jāmu'a-i-Millia, Delhi. We understand that the most important feature of this exhibition was the Islamic calligraphy which was presented there, both through rare and unique Arabic and Persian manuscripts found in different collections of India and Arabic and Persian inscriptions extant on Indo-Muslim monuments ranging from A.H. 592. Accordingly one Arabic small MS exhibited there from the State Library of Rāmpur was calligraphed by Ibn Muqlah (d. 328 A.H.) who greatly inspired almost all the subsequent Muslim calligraphists. He was undoubtedly the originator of the *Kūfi* style of calligraphy and the author of the مقدمة في صناعة الخط (Introduction to the Art of Calligraphy). He was the minister of the 'Abbāsī Khalifa Muqtadir-billāh and was beheaded during his reign. The MS transcribed by him under notice here from the State Library of Rāmpur bears this colophon (in three lines).

عمل ابن المقلة

تمت بحمد الله وبنه والصلوة على رسوله محمد واله اجمعين
اللهم لكاتبه وقارئه ولمن قال آمين يا الله العالمين وثلث مائة

Another MS of the holy Qur'ān was exhibited there by some person which is wrongly attributed to Yāqūt Musta'simi. Although one Qur'ān calligraphed by him is, we understand, in one of the prominent collections of Hyderabad. One more important MS from the State Library of Rāmpur is worthy of notice here. It is calligraphed and illuminated by 'Abdullāh as-Şayrafi. Its colophon is :—

اللهم صل على نبی الرحمة وسقیع الامّة وامّام الائمه محمد وآل العطیین الظاهرين وسلم
كتبه العبد المستقر عبد الله الصیرفی فی سنة احدی وعشرين وسقیع مائة حامداً لله تعالیٰ
ومصلیاً علیہ

We are justified to say that Indian collections are very rich in remnants of Muslim culture.

Reconversion to Hinduism .

Prof. Dr. A.S. Altekar, head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University, has recently written one

article under the above heading, which we have come across in the *Hindu*, Madras, Sunday, January 5, 1947. He has made a historical survey, being inspired by the incidents that have occurred in Bihar and Bengal. We are surprised to see that a man like Dr. Altekar gave a proof of narrow-mindedness, because from a university teacher such irresponsible writings which might lead to create bitter communal feelings are not expected. In reality he is appearing in the capacity of a great advocate and tries to conclude that 'reconversion' is permissible. He means that those Hindus who once have been converted to another religion can be reconverted to Hinduism, although Hindu religion does not allow them. He says: 'It is a matter of some satisfaction that the terrible calamity of the Hindus of Eastern Bengal has roused the Hindu community to a proper sense of realism and duty. Had we adopted this view a thousand years earlier, the present Hindu-Muslim problem would not have arisen at all. The Muslim population of India would not have risen to more than a crore. "After discussing the pros and cons of the problem he also makes a historical survey and throughout he has used words 'conversion by force and fraud' which have diverted our attention; particularly when he refers to history books like Balādhūrī's *Futūh-u'l-Buldān*, 'Utbi's *Tārikh-i-Yamīnī*, etc, which have been not properly interpreted by him. Dr. Altekar's historical master-piece requires careful study by every Muslim who has studied Indo-Muslim history, not with a view to bring about communal hatred, rather with a view to create communal harmony. Because we are certain that always such problems of conversion are misunderstood. We propose to deal this problem in detail somewhere else; however, it is necessary that we should not hesitate to quote here one incident of the earliest voluntary conversion of a great Hindu scholar Brahman particularly in Bengal about which Dr. Altekar has drawn our attention. We are grateful to our learned friend Qādī Ahmad Miān Akhtar of Junagadh who has very kindly supplied us with the following original Arabic and Persian text, from his own library relating to this voluntary conversion. The Arabic extract is from the المراة الالهى في ادراك اسلام انسان Kashf-uz-Zunūn, Vol. II, p. 414) by Muhammad Rukn-u'd-Din Samarqandī, alias Ibnu'l-'Umaid? (A.H. 540-615/A.D. 1145-1218), which is a translation of the Sanskrit work *Amruttakund* into Arabic and the same was later translated into Persian by the saint Mohd. Ghauth of Gwalior d. 970 A.H./1562 A.D. under the name of عرب ایا: Its introduction shows that one great learned Brahman named Bhojar came to the Jum'a Masjid of Kāmrūp and offered himself to the Qādī to embrace Islam. The Arabic extract runs thus:—

”فَانَ لِلْهَنْدِ كِتَابٌ مُعْتَرٌ مَعْرُوفٌ عَنْ حَكَائِهِ وَعَلَمَائِهِ وَهُوَ يُسَمِّي ابْنَرَتْ كَنْدَ (اَمْرَتْ كَنْدَ)

يعني حوض ماء الحيات فلما افتتحوا المسلمين¹ بلاد الهند و ظهر فيها علم الاسلام بلغ الخبر الى

كامر (كامروب) وهي اقتصى بلاد الهند وفيها علماؤها وحكاؤها تخرج واحد منهم لطلب الماظنة مع علماء الاسلام واسميه بهوجربرهن جوگى معناه بالعربية من تاض عالم حتى وصل الى اكتنوت (لكهنوت؟) في وقت السلطان على مرد في تبکرا فدخل الجامع يوم الجمعة فناس عن العلماء فشاروا الى حل القاضي الامام رکن الدين محمد السمرقندى فقال من امامكم قالوا محمد صلی الله عليه وسلم رسول الله. قال في الروح هو من امر ربى فقال صدقتم هذا الذي وجدتاه في مصحف ابراهيمان وها ابراهيم وموسى عليهما السلام فاسلم وتعلم علوم الاسلام حتى اجازوا له العلماء الفتوی فعرض هوهذا الكتاب على القاضي المذكور عليه الرحمة فتوجب من ذلك وعمل فيه حتى وصل مرتبته فقتله من الهند (ية) الى الفارسية ومن الفارسية الى العربية وهو عشرة ابواب ياتي ذكرها في هذا الكتاب وبهي الكتاب في الاسلام الى يومنا هذا - لما وقفت على هذا الكتاب وباصرت عجایبه واشتقت الى معرفة حقيقته فلم اجد استادا حتى وصل؟ جوگى من بلاد کامر واسميه انبیهوا تاتنه واسلم هنالك وهو ری هذا الكتاب بعینه عن المؤلف المتقدم ذكره فقرات عليه هذا الكتاب بعینه کاکان بلسان الهندية خمسون بیتا في عشرة ابواب فاختری بعجره و بعجره اعی صوابه وقال علوم هؤلاء القوم لا تفهم من الكتاب الا من قلب الى قلب فاجازی ان ارویه عنه کاقراته عليه وسمعته عليه فشار من اشارته حم وطاعته حکم الى ان قله من الهندية الى العربية فلیبت دعوته فلبت المرید وشرعت في مطلاوته شیه العید فویت ما حفظته من معانیه وترکت ما یشکله من مبانيه من اوله الى آخره وسمیته کتاب مرآة المانی لادراك العالم الانساني وهو عشرة ابواب ياتي ذكرها واقه الموفق -

Extract from the MS. Leiden Or. 723 (3) Fol. 29a-47a (Catalogus Condicium Orientalium, III, p. 164 sq. No. 1205).

There is one MS. which is the Persian translation of the above Arabic work in the library of Pír Muhammád Sháh of Ahmadábád, No. 223. The relevant Persian extract is as follows :

چنین می گوید بنده ضعیف و نحیف خاکروب درگاه اشتباہ حضرت غوث الثقلین مرشد الخلقین (حضرت غوث گوایاری) حسین گوایاری ابن محمد سارف حسینی خادم محمد بن خطیر الدین عطاری اولین کتاب عجیب و غریب دایرین هندوی امرت کند نام بود یعنی حوض الحیات و سبب ظاهر شدن این کتاب میان اهل اسلام آن بود که چون سلطان علاؤ الدین بلاد بنکاله فتح کرد و اسلام آشکارا شد خبر بکامروپ رسید مردی از علماء معتبر آن ولایت کا ما نام بود در علم جوگی مهارت کمال داشت بطلب مناظره با علماء اسلام در شهر لکهنوت رسید روز جمعه در مسجد جامع آمد و اهل اسلام نشان مجلس علمائی

کرد همه اشارت به مجلس قاضی رکن الدین سهرقندی رحمة الله عليه کردند در ان مجلس رسید پرسید شما کرامی پرسید کفتند مخاطب بی عیب رای پرسیم کفتاد امام شما کیست گفتند محمد رسول الله صلی الله علیه وسلم و آله و حبیه و بارک وسلم گفتا که امام شمار در بیان روح چه گفته گفتند روح را امر پروردگار فرموده گفت تحقیق است من نیز در کتب بر مهابتشن و مهین چین یا قم بعد آن مرد اسلام آورد و در تحصیل علم دین مشغول گشت تا بعده عذریب در علمی مشارا لیه کشت و مفتی شد. بعد از این عمل این کتاب به قاضی رکن الدین تمامی عرض نمود ایشان از زبان هندی بسی باب عربی کردند شخصی بده باب فارسی نیز کرده بود ولی الفاظ نامر بوط بیندی مخلوط نبشه بمشابه که افهام مردمان و اوهام همگان از این الفاظ بمعنی مقصود نرسیدی و چون حضرت غوث الدین و حاکم الكوئین در ولایت کامر و بخود رفتند و چند سال تحصیل و تحقیق این علم بواجهی کرده بودند بالتماس از ساکنان قصبه به روح بمنه فرمودند که درین کتاب اکثر علم طرح شده و اغلب کلمات نامر بوط اقتاده از سر املاکن بدان سبب هرچه از زبان گوهر فشان ایشان صادری شد در قلم آورده ایم این کتاب بخواهیت نهاده شد ”

This Persian version has already been published in Madras in A.H. 1310 at the press Faizu'l-Karim. But this extract is taken from the MS. at Ahmādābād. We are sure that these extracts will also be useful in many other ways. In both Arabic and Persian extracts noted above, the name of the Sultān of the period during whose reign this incident took place, is mentioned thus 'Ali Mard(an ?) and Alā'ud-Dīn respectively. When we carefully put these two names together side by side, we come to the conclusion that this is one and the same person whose full name was 'Alā'ud-Dīn 'Ali Mardān. According to the Arabic History of Gujarat (pp. 598-60), which is at present available, he was called 'Alā'ud-Dīn 'Ali Mārdān al-Khaljī, the son of Husām'ud-Dīn 'Iwād al-Khaljī who was deputed at Devkot (Bengal) by Qutb'ud-Dīn Aibak (A.H. 602-706).

Indian Historical Records Commission :

The twenty-third Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission took place at Indore during the last week of December 1946. Thirty-five papers, based on unpublished documents were read on different aspects of Indian history. Only the following, as noted below in brief, dealt with Indo-Muslim history :

The Abolition of the Titular Dignity of the Nawab of the Karnatak :

D.B. Srinivasachari's paper was based on so far unknown English records. The last titular Nawab of the Karnatak, Muhammad Ghauth,

died in 1855, leaving no child ; and the heir-at-law, alike by Muhammadan and English usage, was his father's younger brother, A'zam Jāh, who promptly applied for the succession. A'zam Jāh had acted as regent for his nephew Muhammad Ghauth, during his minority from 1825-1842. The governor of Madras had observed in Council that A'zam Jāh did not enjoy the place to which he was entitled in consideration of the position he so lately occupied in communication with the British and of that he still holds in relation to His Highness the Nawab and to his succession to the *masnad*.

A Farmān of Aurangzēb to a Zamīndār in the Province of Berar :

Dr. M.A. Chaghata'i has described a unique Farmān of Aurangzēb 'Ālamgīr from the Poona Record Office. This Farmān is in favour of one Bal Bhaddar Singh, son of Bharat Singh. He is given the Zamīndārī of the Ta'alluqa Islāmtēk which is a supplement to Islāmgadh in the province of Berar. Bal Bhaddar Singh in lieu of this Zamīndārī shall have to pay a pēshkash of rupees ten thousand annually to the government treasury.

A Letter from the Maratha Agent with the Mughal Wazir Ṣafdar Jang 1751 :

This letter was addressed by Damodhar Mahadeo Hingane, the Maratha Agent with the Nawāb Wazir at Allahabad, to his younger brother Purshottam, who was with the Sardars (Sindhia and Holkar), at Mau Shamsābād, near Farrukhābād, and dealt with the agreement between the Sardars and the Wazir. Mr. D.V. Gokhale describes that this letter is nearly two or three foolscap pages in length, written in Modi script and Marathi language.

Tārīkh-i-Hāmid Khān : contributed by Prof. Muhibbu'l-Hasan.

This history deals with Haidar 'Ali and his son Tipū Sultān down to the Treaty of Serangapatam (1206 A.H./1792 A.D.). It is named as *Tārīkh-i-Hāmid Khān* after its author one Hāmid Khān, who was Mir Munshi of George Cherry, the private secretary of Lord Cornwallis, and accompanied the latter in his campaign against Tipū Sultān. This Persian history is devoted to the family and life of Haidar. But the information regarding these matters is neither reliable nor complete. It however deals with the third Mysore war.

Barni's Ideal of Muslim Monarchy : by Dr. Mahdi Husain.

The writer only presented a literary translation of a leaf from the unpublished work—the *Fatāwa-i-Jahāndārī*—of Diyau'd-Dīn Barānī, in which

he depicts his ideal king of Islam. The extract also shows that the *Jizya*, as a tax, instead of being a cause of destruction, was really a blessing. For, by paying a few *tankas* the Hindus became *Dhimmis*, the protected, and enjoyed all the privileges which protected people enjoyed. Mr. Nani Gopal Chaudhuri has given some excerpts from unpublished records relating to the trial of Muhammad Ridā Khān and Nā'ib Diwān of Bengal (1765-1772). The Court of Directors had asked Lord Hastings to hold an enquiry into the conduct of Muhammad Ridā Khān. One of the charges against him was that during the Bengal and Bihar famine of 1770 he had been guilty of oppression and had stopped the merchants' boats, loaded with rice and other provisions intended for the supply of Murshadābād. Mr. Chaudhuri has reproduced some replies from Muhammad Ridā to these charges.

Historical Contents of three Scrap-Books or Bayād : by S.H. 'Askari.

First is compiled by Dā'ūd 'Alī Khān and contains two diaries. They cover periods from 1728 to 1749 and relate the diarist's journey from eastern India to the Holy Places in Arabia. Second Bayād of Shāh Muhammad 'Alī, the son of Dā'ūd 'Alī Khān contains the poetical effusions of many historical personages. The third Bayād is entitled *Anīs-u'l-Ahbāb*, compiled by Muhammad Mahdi which gives an account of the arrival of a Shi'a Mujtahid from Irān at Patna, in 1224 A.H.

Correspondence between two Saints of Gujarat : by Dr. I.H. Quraishi.

The correspondence between Sayyid Rukn-u'd-Dīn alias Rājū of Manglor and Shāh 'Ālam of Gujarat lying buried at Ahmadābād, expounds many important points of mediæval Gujarat history.

Wazīr 'Alī and Zamān Shāh :

Mr. K.D. Bhargava says that during the last decade of the 18th century the threatened invasion of India by Zamān Shāh of Kabul hung like a dark cloud on the north-west horizon, who advanced as far as Lahore but he withdrew on 4th January 1799 because of the appearance of his rebel brother in Balkh. Wazīr 'Alī, the deposed Nawāb of Oudh had, in the meantime, negotiated with Zamān Shāh which was properly not noticed. The papers seized from the house of Wazīr 'Alī after his flight from Benares give details of the abortive negotiations which he carried on with the Afghān invader.

Some Unpublished Persian Letters of the Hostage Princes :

This short but interesting and important paper by Mr. I.H. Baqā'i brings to light the very important fact that the Princes 'Abdul Khāliq and Mu'zz-u'd-Dīn, sons of Tipū Sultān, who were given as hostages to Lord Cornwallis, were not taken to Calcutta at all during the period of their hostageship as the *Cambridge History of India* (V, 339) professes. Mr. Baqā'i has produced original documents from Imperial Record Department of Government of India and along this fact they also mention other details of the personal dealing of Lord Cornwallis towards these princes and they were in correspondance with him.

The 'Umdat-u'l-Akhbār : by Mr. K. Sajan Lal.

This is an interesting Urdu newspaper published in Madras, by Muhammad Akbar, the editor in the Maṭba'-i-Anwari, Madras. Mr. Sajan Lal has made some observations of the volumes 5, 7 and 8 starting from 1865 to 1870. He has given many important items from these which are particularly interesting regarding the local history of Hyderabad, Deccan.

Maharaja Abhayasingh of Jodhpur and Sarbaland of Gujarat :

Pandit B. Nath Reu says that during the reign of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh of Delhi, Maharaja Abhayasingh was appointed Governor of Gujarat and he marched against Mubāriz-u'l-Mulk Sarbaland Khān, the rebellious governor of Gujarat. The latter made over charge to the former after a great resistance. Maharaja wrote a letter about it to his ambassador at the Mughal court at Delhi which gives us all the details of the Maharaja's struggle against Mubāriz-u'l-Mulk and it throws sufficient light on some aspects which were hitherto not known to the historians.

A Note on some Grants to the Sri Sankaracharya Swami of the Kamakotipitha :

Pandit K.R. Venkatarama Ayyar has described four unpublished Persian inscriptions. The first with the seal of Sa'ādat Khān confirms a previous grant which was granted (on 5th August 1725) by Daulat Khān to Sankaracharya Gossain of the village of Ponnambalam (Poona) in the Karnatak Taluk of Hyderabad, measuring 259 *chakras* of dry land free of taxes. The second with the seal of Ṣafdar 'Ali confirms the same grant (on 22nd August 1742). The third and fourth record an order to all officials to afford safe passage to the great Guru Sankaracharya Swami Mahani of Kamakotipitha and his retinue and desist from collecting tolls or customs

during his travels. Mr. Venkatarama concludes that the spirit of religious toleration and respect for a highly venerated head of a sect of Hindus, as a special feature stands out prominently in these records.

M.A.C.

DELHI

Conferences :

A number of academic bodies held their annual functions in December and January in Delhi. The first was the Indian Philosophical Association which was a success owing to the tireless efforts of Dr. N.V. Banerji, Reader and Head of the Department of Philosophy in the University of Delhi. The next was the Indian Political Science Conference. The local secretary was Mr. Gurmukh Nihal Singh, Principal, Ramjas College, Delhi, who unfortunately fell ill just before the session but who, assisted by the teachers of Political Science in the University, had made all the requisite arrangements. Dr. Banerji, of the Dacca University, was the president. Those who had expected that the members would be able to discuss the political problems of India with an academic detachment were disappointed, because the presidential address and the discussions alike showed that even our academic bodies are not able to cultivate the scientific spirit. Dr. Banerji's address was an undisguised polemic in favour of a unitary government for India, showing a complete disregard for the difficulties in the way of achieving such an end or the feelings of the opponents of such a scheme. The discussions also were on the same level, and there was more emotion and sentiment in the speeches than cold reason and the atmosphere was palpably partisan. It is a pity that political scientists behave like politicians, even more circumscribed in their outlook because of lack of experience of men and affairs. The only exception was Dr. Tara Chand who spoke lucidly and with conviction, and displayed his usual grasp on the fundamentals of the problem.

Indian Science Congress :

The Indian Science Congress is a leviathan which embraces a large number of subjects. This year it was presided over by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. The choice was dictated obviously, as the Pandit himself put in his speech, by his eminence in Indian Politics and the Government of India. A special feature of the Congress was that delegations from Great Britain, Canada, China, France, the United States of America and the Soviet Union participated in its activities.

A Central Asian Scholar :

One of the Soviet delegates was M. Sultan Umarov who is the Rector of the University of Uzbekistan. He is a Physicist, but he is interested in Persian literature. He speaks Tajik Persian fluently and it was pleasure to meet a scholar of his eminence and culture. He quotes Persian classics with fluency and is equally at home in modern Persian poetry of Turkestan. His interest in Islamic architecture is also enlightened and real. He was able to narrate the cultural activities of the Central Asian Republic of the Soviet Union which showed that there is a renewed interest in the Persian and Turki classics.

Soviet Interest in Islamic Culture :

The leader of the delegation was academician Volgin who is Professor of modern history and who is a leading authority on Marxism and the Marxist interpretation of history. He gave a list of scholars in Russia working on Indo-Muslim subjects which includes such varied topics as the Durand Line, the Dīn-i-llāhī and the Sultanate of Delhi.

A Study of Indo-Muslim Saints :

A young scholar, Mr. Khaliq Ahmad Niżāmī of Meerut College is doing good work on Indo-Muslim saints. He has published two articles in the *Burhān* one on Hadrat Shāh Kalim-u'llāh of Delhi and the other on Hadrat Shāh Fakhr-ud-Dīn, also of Delhi. Both of these saints belonged to the Chishtī Silsilah. The former was a contemporary of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar and the latter was in Delhi when Shāh 'Alam II was the reigning monarch. Such studies are important adjuncts to our knowledge of Indo-Muslim history and Mr. Niżāmī, who combines enthusiasm with ability, should continue his work.

A Catalogue of MSS and Documents :

It was mentioned in the last report that Khān Bahādūr Maulāvī Zafar Hasan was preparing a catalogue of his collection. The catalogue has now been published. It shows that the Khān Bahādūr's collection is rich in historical material. This is not surprising because he has spent his life in the pursuit of historical studies, and has been an ardent collector.

Urdu Week and Ghālib Day :

The Anglo-Arabic College celebrated a successful Urdu Week which

included a varied programme of paper-reading, lectures, a *Mušhā'rah* and a debate. Another function, Ghālib Day was equally successful.

I.H.Q.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE able speech delivered by Dr. Mahmūd Hasan, Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University in its annual Convocation held in the last week of November 1946, deserves to be considered seriously by at least the Muslim educationists of India. The learned Vice-Chancellor emphasized the need of introducing religious instruction in the curriculum of secondary and higher education by making the striking observations that a large number of people in India are opposed to the imparting of religious education to our young students in schools on the mistaken ground that it is responsible for the communal troubles in India. But he repudiated this notion by arguing that our quarrels are due to our own faults, our own selfish actions and spirit of self-aggrandisement, and not to religion which is used as a convenient stacking horse by self-interested and unscrupulous people. It is not possible to root out religion from India or for that matter from any other country. Therefore, it is a grave error to keep planned and controlled religious education out of our schools, for by doing so we take away the foundation on which alone character can be built ; and education without formation of character is worse than useless. His Excellency Sir Frederick Burrows, the Chancellor of the Dacca University, realized the difficulties of imparting religious education in institutions, where individuals of different communities and creeds receive instructions ; still he said, " I myself endorse Dr. Hasan's opinion when he said that education without the formation of character is worse than useless and that religious education is the foundation on which alone character can be built." In his speech Dr. M. Hasan also referred to the remarkable re-awakening, resurgence of new life, vitality and hopefulness among the Muslims of Bengal. This newly acquired energy, said the Vice-Chancellor, should be canallized, harnessed and utilized to create works of lasting benefit and glory to the country as a whole. For this he suggested that the Dacca University should become a great centre of Islamic studies and encourage and develop the study, not only of the important orthodox Islamic subjects like Qur'ānic Exegesis, Islamic Philosophy, Fiqh, Hadith, etc. but also undertake a thorough investigation and study of the contributions of Muslims to the development of art, letters and science in the world. And this study should be undertaken not for the purpose of strengthening the pride of Muslims in their past achievements, but to stimulate them to come forward and take their place in the vanguard of the world's onward march in the present and the future.

We wish the above suggestions could be really implemented into practice by the authorities of the Dacca University.

The flavour and temper of Urdu language, which has, of course, grown the medium of maintaining cultural concord and harmony between the Muslims living in different parts of India, have not yet attracted the bulk of the Muslim population of Bengal. Consequently the Muslim litterateurs and poets of the so-called Eastern Pakistan, instead of being the stewards of the lingua franca of Muslim India, are still transmitting the treasures of their minds and pouring out the contents of their hearts in the provincial tongue. And as the latter language has not attained wide acceptance, so the Muslims of other provinces find themselves quite in the dark as regards the literary activities of their co-religionists of Bengal, who have recently been lodged in a highly vital political position of the country. A glimmer in this darkness is however found in Professor Sayyid Sajjād Husain's article *New Voices in Bengali Poetry*, published in the *Morning News* of Calcutta. We would like to crave the indulgence of the author of the above article for acquainting our readers with some of its details. The learned contributor observes that the number of Muslim writers in Bengal is still comparatively small. In poetry their contributions even apart from Nadhr-ul-Islām have by no means been insignificant and the rising generation of writers in this province includes several Muslims whose work is full of promise. The chief problem which operates as a discouragement to Muslim writers is that they have not as yet evolved a literary diction of their own in which they could interpret Muslim life and sentiments. Nadhr-ul-Islām, the only poet who achieved a brilliant personal solution of the difficulty, has had many imitators but the followers lack his genius and their work necessarily remains extremely unsatisfactory. Two consequences follow. Either they give up the attempt to become the literary spokesmen of their own people and join the ranks of a more or less non-descript class of intellectuals who affect a non-communal outlook; or they degenerate into fifth-rate authors whose compositions have in all ages constituted the rubbish heap of literature. Muslim Bengal can have no use of either class. The poetry or literature in which its own life is not reflected interests it as much, or as little as the poetry of Shakespeare which it cannot claim as its own. Nor does it wish to be represented in the literary world by crude and immature productions to which it cannot point with pride. It has been felt by many that these literary crudities are explained by the lack of a national self-consciousness among Muslim writers and it has also been predicted that the growth of such a self-consciousness would speedily lead to a magnificent literary efflorescence. How far this prediction will prove true remains to be seen. There are at least a number of poets whose development Muslim Bengal will watch with hope and anxiety. They have sought to strike a new note and are trying to forge a head. Will they succeed or will they too fall like many of their predecessors? On the answer to this question depends Muslim Bengal's literary destiny in the immediate future. Of these poets, the following may be considered the most representative:

(1) *Farrukh Ahmad* :—He began as the imitator of *Nadhr-ul-Islām* and appeared even as an imitator, to have done some original work. He realizes, perhaps more than any other Muslim poet that the success of a Muslim writer will be in the ultimate analysis to be measured by his ability to interpret the life and ideals of his own people. In the earlier writings of *Farrukh Ahmad*, some of which appeared in his book called '*Sat Sagarer Majhi*' (the Sailor of the Seven Seas), one notices an undeniable vigour, liveliness, a conscious desire to identify himself with the traditions of his nation.

(2) *Ahsan Habib* started as a modernist. His modernist verse lacks in originality, and though not thoroughly bad, is indistinguishable from the work of his Hindu contemporaries. His recent writings, however, have shown a surprising and delightful change. He has lately published some studies of rustic characters, which reveal a deep insight into certain aspects of Muslim life and are also technically entirely new.

(3) *Ghulām Quddūs* is a communist and his work reflects, as in the case of a communist it must the convictions of his party. He tends also occasionally to be slovenly in form. But it cannot be denied that his work possesses a strength of its own, and where the convictions of his party coincide with his own feelings, his verse becomes illuminated by an inner fire.

(4) *Abu'l-Husain* pretends to be a thoroughbred modernist but has not any convictions to express. He has however outgrown the imitative stage and derives his inspirations from Hindu masters of modernism like *Shudhīndea Dutta*.

(5) *Sayyid 'Ali Hasan* seems at heart to cherish a secret admiration for modernists and at the same time displays an awareness of his position as a Muslim. The quality of his mind is evidenced by his matter as well as by his diction in which he has sought, not always happily, to blend opposing elements.

(6) *Maṭī'-ul-Islām* is not a modernist. He has modelled himself more or less on the poets of the age of Tagore, confining his attention mainly to the writing of good verses.

The Muslim Artists Exhibition organized by the Muslim Welfare and Cultural Development Centre was held at Islamia College, Calcutta, in the last week of December 1946. It was inaugurated by Dr. 'Itrat Husain Zubayri, who delivered a very illuminating and scholarly address on the occasion, during the course of which he asserted that it is his firm conviction that Muslims have a great contribution to make to the renaissance of Indian arts and literature. But they can only make that contribution if they are true to their traditions of Islamic art and culture. Their integral development can only take place within the circumference of their own artistic tradition. Dr. I.H. Zubayri remarked further that the cultural destiny of India lies in realizing the diversity of its pattern and the richest and most diverse is the culture of Islam in India. Islam has given grace and geometrical simplicity to Indian architecture. It

brought with it a wealth of decorative art in carpets, in fabrics, in pottery to India which was unknown to the Hindus. Indian painting also owes a great deal to the inspiration of Muslim culture. The forms of Indian painting before the 13th century were mainly fresco painting in temples and Buddhist monasteries, caves like Ellora and Ajanta. They are remarkable in their execution as well as form but they are not paintings in the strict sense of the term. Portrait painting, the animal designs which often form a part of landscape, and the delineation of home and family life, and the grandeur of the court, and the ease and light-heartedness of hunting scenes, Indian paintings owe all these motifs to the Muslims and especially to the Mughals. The first oriental paintings which attracted the attention of a great European painter were those of the Mughal school. Rembrandt is believed to have been the first painter in the West who was sufficiently attracted by Indian paintings. He made copies of some pictures that had reached Holland from the East. These were the portraits of members of the imperial Mughal family of Delhi. It was after the Crusades and through the culture of the commercial cities like Genoa, Pisa and Venice that Muslim decorative motifs found their way into European paintings. Even Arabic letters with their majestic flow and sweep design were used for decorative purposes in painting as in a famous painting of the Italian artist Giotto of the figure of Christ in the Resurrection of Lazarus in the Arena Chapel at Padua. Dr. I.H. Zubayri laid emphasis on the fact that when Islamic ideas and motifs have fertilized even distant European paintings there is no reason why a new school of Islamic painting should not rise in our own times. He concluded his address with the advice that our past is great in its artistic achievements and we are conscious of the delicacy and simplicity of Mughal paintings, but those modes of expression should not only be revived, but we should strike out fresh models of thought not only in painting but also in architecture, decorative arts in harmony with the great traditions of Muslim achievements, in the various domains of fine arts. In the Exhibition about fifteen provincial artists of fairly outstanding calibre sent in their works, which numbered about one hundred in all. Zain-ul-'Abedin's caricature in colours and pencils of the famine of 1943 received much applause. Qamar-ul-Hasan portrayed the disastrous Midnapore flood which preceded the famine of 1943. In it the pathos of carrion feed of human flesh was well-depicted. Saif-ud-Din's style of Cezanne was greatly appreciated. Miss Amina Ahmad's water-coloured portraiture of a 'Kashmiri Lady' and a 'Kashmiri Jama'dar' attracted much the visitor's attention. Her painting 'Mother and Child' had already been awarded a prize at the Delhi Art Exhibition.

A four-hundred year old coin has been discovered in a village in the Balipara Frontier tract in Assam along with a brass bracelet and an earthen pot. It bears Persian inscriptions of Naṣir-ud-Din Nuṣrat Shāh, who ruled Bengal in the sixteenth century. The coin has been presented to the Assam Provincial Museum by Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath Das of Char-duar.

The Government of Bengal has contemplated a scheme to award pensions to meritorious and talented authors, who are advanced in age and are handicapped by financial circumstances. We are glad to note that such pensions have already been awarded to poet Kaiqubād of District Dacca, Maulawī 'Abdul Karīm of District Chittagong and Pandit Harikrishna of District Birbhum. We hope the other Provincial Governments and Native States will follow this noble precedence.

The Indo-Iranian Society of Calcutta which we mentioned in one of our previous reports, has brought out three issues of its quarterly Journal *Indo-Iranica*. We propose to make comments on some of its articles in our next publication.

The ninth session of the Indian History Congress was held at Patna on the 27th, the 28th and the 29th December 1946. The Reception Committee, under the chairmanship of the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, tried to give the delegates and visitors of the Congress all possible historical information of Bihar in a well-written monograph *Introduction to Bihar*. The glory of the Muslim rule in Patna was also recalled in this booklet by describing the following historical sites and archaeological remains :

(1) Muradpore :—This is the main thoroughfare and heart of Patna, named after Mirzā Murād, son of Mirzā Rustum Šūfāvī. Mirzā Rustum Šafavī, a great-grandson of Shāh Ismā'il of Persia and father-in-law of Jahāngīr's son Parvīz, succeeded the latter as Governor of Bihar and was its last Governor under Jahāngīr. His eldest son, Mirzā Murād, son-in-law of Mirzā 'Abdur-Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān, settled down at Patna and built a mansion on the bank of the Ganges. His tomb, within the compound of the Patna General Hospital, is still held in reverence.

(2) Pathar ki Masjid :—It was built by Nazarkhewshgī, an officer of Prince Parvīz, son of Jahāngīr and Governor of Bihar in 1626. An inscription on the eastern face of the mosque states that the wood and stone used in the construction of the mosque were taken from the fort and temple of Majhauli, probably the well-known Rajput State in Gorakpur district.

(3) The Mausoleum of Nawāb Haibat Jung :—Mirzā Muhammād Hāshim, Nawāb Zain-ud-Dīn Khān, Haibat Jung, the nephew and son-in-law of Nawāb 'Aliwardī Khān and father of Sirāj-ud-Daulah and Governor of Bihar (1740-48) was murdered at Patna in 1748 by the Afghans of Darbhanga. His remains were buried by Sayyid Ispahānī, the city Kotwal. His mausoleum, situated in Mohalla Begumpur of Patna City (south of the railway station), on a land purchased by himself appears to have been built during the Deputy Governorship of the Bengali Raja Janki Ram under 'Aliwardī's orders. It stands in an extensive garden, and the two-storied gateway is now in a delapidated condition. Attached to it there is a mosque, inscriptional stone of which is now missing. The tomb stands on a square platform and is made of white marble and black

basalt. The most beautiful part of the whole structure is the fine perforated stone screen which enclosed the tomb.

(4) *Fakhr-ud-Daulah's Mosque* :—Called after *Fakhr-ud-Daulah*, Governor of Bihar (1727-32). It is situated on the main road in Patna City. It was built in 1788, perhaps by his wife who is called Begam Sāheba, in the inscription on the mosque. Its cupolas were marked for chastity of design.

(5) *Saif Khān's Madrasa* :—*Saif Khān*, Governor of Bihar (1628-32), built a Madrasa on the bank of the Ganges near *Khwāja Kalān* Mohalla in Patna City. It is the most beautiful of all mosques in Patna. It bears an inscription, the chronogram of which yields the date 1039 A.H./1629 A.D. This Arabic college continued to be an important centre of learning as late as the middle of the 18th century. Its Principal was regarded as an authority on Muslim Law. It is said to have had 3 quarters for professors and seats for 136 students. The rooms were all single-seated with hemispherical domed roofs. The two-storied gateway is now in ruins. Some of the cloisters in the surrounding wall are still intact. A few beautiful copulas, each standing on slender foot pillar of stone and traces of glazed tiles, can be seen at present.

(6) *'Azim-ush-Shāh's Mosque* :—This mosque was built by Prince *'Azim-ush-Shāh*, grandson of *Aurangzēb*, and Governor of Bihar in the early eighteenth century. It is situated on the river front in the *Khwāja* Mohalla.

(7) *Chihil-Sutūn* :—This famous palace of forty pillars, immediately to the west of the Mosque and Madrasa of *Saif Khān*, appears to have been originally built during the time of *Shāh Jahān*. It was rebuilt by *Nawāb Haibat Jung*. It was here that *Farrukh Siyar* and *Shāh 'Ālam II* first proclaimed themselves as Emperors and *'Aliwardi* as Deputy-Governor of Bihar had the *Rohilla* Captain, *'Abdul Karīm*, murdered in his presence. Again it was here that *Haibat Jung* too was murdered by the *Rohilla* Afghans of *Darbhanga* (January 1748). A police station stands on the site of this building.

(8) *Shēr Shāh's Mosque* :—It was built by *Shēr Shāh* in 1545 in *Hājī Ganj* Mohalla. Its walls are very thick. There are four small copulas on the four corners and one large copula at the centre.

(9) *Mausoleum of the father of Nawāb Burhān-ul-Mulk* :—Father of *Sā'adat Khān Burhān-ul-Mulk*, the founder-Viceroy of Oudh, and the maternal grandfather of *Sardār Jung*, had come to Patna and died sometime before the latter's arrival in the city. Along with some other relations, he was buried in Mohalla Dholpur (Dawalpura), south of the mosque of *Shēr Shāh*. The remains of the mausoleum containing their tombs, including a fine stone-screen enclosure, are still visible.

(10) *Ja'far Khān's garden* :—This historic garden, situated east of the Patna City, was laid out by *Ja'far Khān*, Governor of Bihar (1651-6). It was a place of great public importance. Here the coronation of Emperor *Farrukh Siyar* was celebrated, *Darbārs* were held and ambassadors were

received. The ruins of the enclosing walls are still visible, but the beautiful tower is no more.

The inaugural ceremony of the above Indian History Congress was performed by the Hon'ble Prime Minister of Bihar, and the plenary session was presided over by Mr. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, Professor of History and Archaeology, University of Madras. His presidential address was, of course, full of treasures of knowledge and wisdom. But at one place the learned president observed : "The advent of Islam at the close of the 12th century indeed threatened to break up the unity of India for a time, as it threatens to do again in our own day." The observation cannot be called innocent and harmless, and it was exploited by a certain section of the local press for purposes of political propaganda. Such remarks, as are likely to be contentious and controversial, must, we think, be judiciously avoided in a meeting, where academicians gather together in a congenial atmosphere, to make a scientific approach of revealing the past as it was. The Section III (Early Mediæval India from 1206 to 1526 A.D.) and Section IV (Late Mediæval India from 1526 to 1764 A.D.) were presided over by Mr Shaikh 'Abdur-Rashid of Muslim University, Aligarh and Dr. Parmathanath Saran of the Benares University respectively. A good number of papers of our interest were submitted in both these sections. They are :

(1) *The Siege of Champanur-Pawagadh by Sultān Maḥmūd I Bagada in A.D. 1482-84*, by H. Goetz, Baroda. It described the siege of Champaner-Pawagadh, which brought the strongest fortress of Gujarat into the possession of the Sultāns of Ahmedabad and led to the foundation of their second capital.

(2) *Baghēla Dynasty of Rewa under the Lodi Sultāns*, by Akhtar Husain Nizāmi, M.A., Lecturer in History, Durbar College, Rewa. Bhaidachandra, a contemporary of Bahol Lodi and Sikandar Lodi was a powerful ruler. As he was allied to the Sharqi kings of Jaunpūr, he invited the hostility of the Lodi Sultāns who were engaged in a life-and-death struggle with their Sharqi adversaries. In this game of power-politics between Delhi and Jaunpūr, the Baghelas of Bhatha-Gahora played an important part. Bhaidchandra actively supported the cause of Sultān Husain Shāh Sharqi and invited three Lodi expeditions to his country one under Bahol and the rest under Sikandar, the last falling in the reign of his son and successor Salivahana.

(3) *Jajnagar from Epigraphic and Literary Sources of Orissa and Bengal*, by P. Acharya, B.Sc., State Archaeologist, Mayurbhanj State. In this paper Jajnagar has been identified with Jaipur on the Baitarani in Orissa which was one of the capitals of Orissa during the Ganga period.

(4) *A Coin from Ellore* by V. Lakshminarayana, M.A., Lecturer in History, Sir C. Ramalinga Reddy Municipal College, Ellore. This described a coin of Qutb-ud-Din Mubārak Shāh of the Khilji dynasty.

(5) *Husain Shāh, the last of the Sharqi*: An estimate by Dr. A. Halim M.A. Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Muslim University, Aligarh.

(6) *Bābur's Post-War Settlement in the Doab, Malwa and Bihar.* by Dr. S.K. Benerji, Lucknow University.

(7) *Maharaja Abhaya Singh and the Mughal Court Tactics*, by Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Rea, Jodhpur. The paper was based on a letter of Maharaja Abhaya Singh which shows what other successors, apart from the defeat inflicted on Sarbaland Khān were achieved by him and to what extent the said Maharaja was disappointed by the intrigues of the Imperial Court.

(8) *Piratical Activities in Jahāngīr's Times*, by Professor S.P. Sangar, D.A.V. College, Lahore. The writer is of opinion that the Mughal Emperors of India failed to realize the importance of a strong naval power. This was a serious flaw which was exploited by European merchants, trading in India.

(9) *Mir Jumla's Administration in the Karnatak*, by Professor Jagdish Narain Sarkar, Patna College, Patna. This gave a critical account of Mir Jumla's administrative methods, village administration, governorship, sources of revenue, justice, postal system and military organization in the Karnatak.

(10) *Letters of Shaikh Ahmad*, by Hasan Murtaza, Deputy Magistrate (Patna). The article briefly indicated the historical significance of letters of Shaikh Ahmad popularly known as Imām-i-Rabbānī, Renewer of the Second Millennium of the Hijri Era, and leader of the Puritan Revival of Mughal India, who carried on correspondence with the great chiefs and nobles of the Mughal Empire.

Some other papers in other sections were: (a) *Timūr Shāh and an Indian Imperial Prince*; (b) *A Proposed Scheme for the Future Constitution of India on New and Non-Communal Lines*; (c) *Some Documents relating to the Mausoleum of Manmoor-Bhanja at Jaruha, Hajipur* by Khān Sāheb S. Hasan 'Askari, Patna College, Patna; (d) *Comparison of Haider 'Alī and Tipū Sultān with the Urartus*, by K.N.V. Sastri, Mysore University; (e) *The History of the Khānqāh of Shaikh Kabir-ud-Dīn of Patna*, by K. Sajan Lāl.

The session of the Indian History Congress was followed by the annual convocation of the Patna University. It was addressed by Mr. P.N. Banerjee, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. He came to speak on this solemn occasion as a messenger of 'loving greetings' and 'pilgrims' of the 'best wishes' of his province. In consonance with the dignified role he assumed, it is but quite natural to suggest here that he could have very prudently and most wisely tried to delete out of his address sentences like "The Muslim conquest of the thirteenth century swept like a tornado over Bihar. It looked as though the lamp of learning and culture would go out! These care-free soldiers of fortune (i.e. the Islamic conquerors of Bihar) sacked the monasteries, crushed the stupas and wrecked the idols!" He however acknowledged the debts of Bihar to Muslim rulers, scholars and saints by making some glowing and tangible references, which were couched laconically in the following words:

"Bihar gave birth to Shér Shāh, one of the greatest rulers of India. His road, later on styled as the Grand Trunk Road, has carried armies, has borne on its back the hoofs of camels (?) and horses, the wheels of chariots, of bullock-carts and of motor-trucks all these centuries. He left behind a great administrative system. It has guided alike Akbar and his British successors. Let us not forget that Shér Shāh punished his son for his offence against a Hindu woman. In the domain of science and culture, the legacy left by Muslim scholars, savants and divines in Bihar is a rich heritage. Maulānā Mohibbullah's thesis on Logic (*Sullam-ul-'Ulūm*) and his work on Jurisprudence (*Musallam-uth-Thubūt*) riveted the attention of scholars throughout India for a century and more. Maulānā Yahyā's treatment of Epistemology created new basic principles in Islamic Jurisprudence. Bihar cannot forget the services rendered by Shaikh Budh, the physician, Makhdūm Sharaf-ud-Dīn, the great divine, Ghulām Husain Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān, the historians, and Mullā 'Abdul-Karīm and Mullā Shafī', the Jurists. Patna today is justly proud of one of the most delightful of all libraries in India, the Khudā Bakhsh Library."

We gloss over the cultural activities of the U.P. in this issue for we have already covered the limited space at our disposal.

S.S.

NORHT-WESTERN INDIA

New Publications :

AMONG the recent publications of Sh. Mohammad Ashraf, special mention is due to the masterly work of Dr. M. Hamidullāh, *The Muslim Conduct of State*, which has now been published after a thorough revision by the author. Our readers will remember that the work originally appeared serially in this Journal during the years 1941 and 1942. As Professor H.A.R. Gibb has justly remarked, "the subject as a whole is one that has been little investigated and that demanded much original research as well as special qualifications in both legal and Arabic studies on the part of the researcher. Dr. Hamidullāh's....range of sources is exceedingly wide and the position, which is well arranged, clear and thorough, covers the whole ground adequately." We, accordingly heartily welcome Dr. Hamidullāh's important work in its revised form.

SH.I.

FOREIGN

SPAIN

Notes on Spanish Orientalists in the Spanish Civil War :

THROUGH the courtesy of Father P. Luciano Rubio we learn the sad news of the fate of certain Spanish scholars during the Civil War. A volume entitled *Martires Agustinos de El Escorial* (Madrid, 1945) has

been published by Father Carlos Vicuna, giving accounts of the murder of many scholars of the Augustine order. Amongst these was Father Julian Zarco Cuevas, the Director of the Escorial Library which has a valuable and famous collection of Arabic MSS, and Father Melchor Martinez Antuna who was professor in the University of Madrid. Born in San Juan de Arenas (Asturias) near Oviedo in 1889, Father Antuna met his death at the early age, for an orientalist, of 47, in a massacre of Escorial personnel by Government supporters on the 30th November, 1936. He had been working on a complete catalogue of the Escorial Arabic MSS dealing with history and geography, and had corrected many mistakes in the catalogue of Escurial Arabic MSS which was published by H. Derenbourg and E. Levi-Provençal (1884 & 1928). Father Anthuna had published many articles on Spanish-Islamic history in *Religion e Cultura*, *Ciudad de Dios*, and *Al-Andalus*, among the more important of which are: *Sevilla y sus Monumentos árabes*, *El canciller de Córdoba Almodávar, contra los cristianos*, *Conquista de Quesada y Alcaudete por Mohámed II de Granada*, *Ordenanza de un cadi granadino para los habitantes del valle de Lecrín*, *Campanas de los Almohades en España*, *El polígrafo granadino Abenjatib*. Perhaps the best known of his studies was the edition of part of Ibn Hayyān's *al-Muktabis*, actually published after his death (*Ibn Hayyān, al-Muktabis, tome troisième, chronique du règne du calife Umayyade 'Abd Allāh à Cordoue*, texte arabe public pour la première fois d'après le MSS de la Bodléienne avec une introduction par le P. Melchor M. Antuna. (Textes rel. à l' histoire de l' Occident Musulmane, III, Paris, 1937).

While the custodians of the Escorial Library were in Spanish (Republican) Government prisoners for a period, in some cases, of two and a half years, about 4,000 volumes disappeared from the Escorial which was moreover in a very bad condition when they returned, as it had been a barracks for the supporters of the Republican Government. The missing volumes included all the illuminated Latin MSS many of the Spanish ones, and all those in Arabic. It seems that they had been removed by a Commission set up by the Spanish (Republican) but fortunately after peace was restored, all but 23 MSS were recovered. Some of the missing MSS are Arabic, but few are of any importance. Father Rubio after his liberation from prison, is now in charge of the Arabic MSS at the Escorial, and is preparing for publication the *Lubāb al-Muhaṣṣal fī Uṣūl ad-Dīn* of Ibn-Khaldūn.

Throughout the years of the Second World War scholars will have remarked that *Al-Andalus* has continued its programme of publication and has maintained that high standard of scholarship for which it is well known.

Hispano-Moresque Pottery in Scotland :

In the recently opened museum of the Abbey of Melrose, famous for its associations with Sir Walter Scott, there is now on exhibition a

dish of Hispano-Moresque ware which was found in excavations on part of the Abbey site. This is quite an important discovery as it marks one of the most northerly points for the discovery of this ware in Britain. It may be recalled also that this part of the country is associated with Michael Scott, the mediæval scholar who studied in the universities of Arab Spain.

R.B.S.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

TWO QUEENS OF BAGHDAD by
Nabia Abbott; published by the
University of Chicago Press, Chicago-37,
Illinois; \$3.50.

THIS is a very readable account of two great women in the history of early Islam, one who bore the great 'Abbasid, Hārūn ar-Rashid and the other who became his wife. Khaizurān is almost unknown to the lay reader, but Zubaida is a household word with the millions who belong to the faith of Islam, and it is well that Miss Abbott, who is the Associate Professor of Islamic Studies at the Oriental Institution of the University of Chicago, should have brought out this book. As the learned author rightly says, both Khairzurān and Zubaida exercised a great influence over the politics of the Islamic State of the eighth and the ninth centuries, and the measure of that influence is bound to interest all students of the history of the period.

As we know, this was the most resplendent period of the 'Abbasid era. Wealth knew no bounds. Khaizurān's privy purse amounted to nearly 20 crores of dirhams which must be multiplied at least ten times to give a correct estimate according to modern values, while millions of gold and silver pieces are said to have been dispensed at the marriage of Mā'mūn with Būrān, the daughter of the Wazir Hasan b. Sahl, and we are astounded to learn that Hārūn left a legacy of 90 crore dirhams in cash, the

value of which would reach the almost astronomical figure of 90,00,00,00,000 rupees according to modern exchange. Naturally poetry, music, dance, industry and trade, architecture, art in all its aspects was the order of the day. While the arts of peace were developed to the full, the Muslim was in the vanguard of the glory of war as well, and Hārūn's marriage to Zubaida in 782 almost coincided with his great treaty with the Empress Irene of Byzantium under which the Eastern Roman Empire became a vassal State of the 'Abbasid Caliphate.

There is, without doubt a description of these and many other matters of State in the book before us, but, woman as the authoress is, she lays a far greater stress on the private lives of the Caliphs and her two heroines whose joint period covers nine reigns from the middle of the eighth and the middle of the ninth centuries, and the impression which is left in the minds of the readers who may have skipped the last chapter, "In the Hall of Fame would be one of murder, intrigue, promiscuous intercourse, endless series of concubines and *demi-mondaines*, and rank immorality. One need not be apologetic over all this, for it was an appanage of the great opulence of the period. But we must be realists not anachronists. We are treading the road of the eighth century and we have only to cross into Europe to know that promiscuousness and obvious immorality there did not even have the blanket of

legality to cover it. Then again Miss Abbott has only succeeded in discovering "Dr. Jekyll" in the great personages of the day, and, perhaps in the enthusiasm for her own womanhood, made the life within the *haram* more important than the public life of her two heroines. One cannot blame her for that, but it is only one side of the picture. Historical personages have a public aspect of their lives, and if history were to be re-written in which their private moralities and immoralities, their personal whims, their inner-most thoughts which were at times human, at other times bestial, were to be given greater stress than their public acts, then, however theatrical and cinematic the history would be it would not have much importance to the history of a people.

The book is fully documented but the reliable, the less reliable and unreliable stories have been roped together to connect Miss Abbott's narrative. A chapter might well have been devoted to the authorities so that the reader should have known what to believe and what not to believe. Even tales such as the number of 'Abbāsah's children has been introduced in the body of the book although its veracity is doubted in the footnote.

Perhaps the high watermark of the book is reached in the last chapter of the work entitled "In the Hall of Fame," and there, strange though it may seem, the authoress has entirely ignored the burden of her description in previous chapters. She ends thus :

"When in the last scene the Grim Reaper makes his call, Zubaida, the Handmaiden of the Almighty, having spent her golden talents to give a cup of water to the least of Allah's pilgrims, is gratefully believed by these to have entered into the joy of her Lord. She is gone but not forgotten. It matters little if her remains rest in that tomb outside East Baghdad that goes by her name or in some other spot, be it ever so humble or ever so great. The spirit of this generous woman of royal romance and splendor, of tact and vision, of head and heart, is confined to no one single spot on earth. Her

place is secure in Islam's Hall of Fame for as long as Allah's hosts of pilgrims progress down the Zubaidah Road to their goals of Mecca and Arafat, there to quench a physical thirst at her springs and satisfy a spiritual one at Islam's Holiest of Holies and Allah's Mount of Mercy. Within and without Islam, her memory lives so long as history continues to instruct and the Arabian Nights continue to entertain. Cleopatra! Zenobia! Zubaidah! Magic names these to set the fancy free to work and play in the realms of history, legend, and romance."

H.K.S.

BRITISH ORIENTALISTS ; by A. J. Arberry ; with 8 plates in colour and 20 other illustrations ; 4sh. ; William Collins, London, 1943.

THIS is a brilliant though brief study of an aspect of British enterprise and scholarship which deserves to be better known to the civilized world. Dr. Arberry himself is an Orientalist in the best tradition of those indefatigable British scholars, who have rendered highly meritorious services by making the literature and learning of the East available to the West. Moving from West to East, the learned author treats first of the Arabs, the Persians and the Turks, omitting Hebrew as a dead language and leaving Egyptology and Assyriology for the archaeologist. He then passes over to India with its innumerable languages and a long and chequered history, and finally comes to Indonesia and the Far East. The languages and literatures of more than half the human race, and of several great civilizations, thus fall within the scope of this book. Although the volume under review is intended rather to treat of the personalities and accomplishments of those British men and women who have made these languages and literatures their special study or favourite diversion, it nevertheless considers briefly the value of that vast material which has engaged the attention of

so many keen intellects. Macaulay once wrote that the whole of Oriental literature was not worth a single shelf of the classics of Europe. We welcome Dr. Arberry's book as providing an eloquent refutation of this malicious and ignorant misrepresentation of facts.

The reader of this fascinating book travels across the greater part of the globe and sees how men born in various stations and in different parts of the British Isles have gone forth to study the cultures of many old and brilliant civilizations or have attempted to apprehend these cultures in the seclusion of their libraries. All honour is due to these gifted men, who have forged bonds of that international understanding which alone can form the foundation of a better world and a more lasting peace.

A fairly large number of colour plates and other illustrations enhance the interest and value of the book.

Sh.I.

**SOME FUNDAMENTAL ASPECTS
OF IMAM GHAZALI'S
THOUGHTS** by M. Umaruddin,
Irshad Book Depot, Aligarh; pp. 193;
price not given.

AS the author explains in his Introduction, the book under review "Comprises of a number of research papers read before different sessions of the All-India Philosophical Congress and other learned societies and published in well-known journals of the country." It consists of seven chapters which are as follows: (1) Al-Ghazali, with special reference to his inner development, (2) Psychological basis of al-Ghazali's Religious Philosophy, (3) The relation of knowledge and morality in the ethical system of al-Ghazali, (4) The exposition of al-Ghazali's views on the problem of the freedom of Will, (5) Al-Ghazali's approach to the ultimate reality with special reference to the relation of Thought and Intuition in his and Iqbal's systems, (6) Idea of Love in the Philosophy of al-Ghazali, (7)

Al-Ghazali on the Vision of God. Al-Ghazali's views on 'Child Education are given in an appendix. We do not understand why the author thought it necessary to place this chapter in appendix. There are three more appendices. : (1) Suhrawardi Muqtal's philosophical position according to the works of his youth. This is written in collaboration with Professor Dr. Spies, Professor of Arabic, Aligarh Muslim University, (2) Review of the Doctrines of Sufis (Abū Bahr al-Kalābādhi's *Kitab at-Ta'arruf li Madh al-Ahl at-Tasawwuf*, translated by Arthur John Arberry, (3) Muslim Philosophy: Its scope and meaning. It is difficult to understand how these appendices can find a place in a book on al-Ghazali and the fundamental aspects of his thoughts. They form excellent chapters of book on the History of Muslim Philosophy which the author is engaged in writing for the use of his students in Aligarh University.

Each paper deals with one fundamental idea of al-Ghazali's philosophy and the apparent independence of the chapters is only superficial "its necessity being occasioned by the long duration of time taken to cover the entire thesis of the book and the academic engagements of the writer."

Al-Ghazali is indeed one of the greatest personalities in Islam and ranks with the greatest thinkers of the world. He was, according to MacDonald, "The greatest certainly the most sympathetic figure in the history of Islam" and the "equal of Augustine in philosophical and theological importance." He achieved a great success in freeing Islam from the foreign encrustations. He shattered the hold of alien thought and culture on the minds of the Muslims. He subjected to a severe test the existing sects and systems and pointed out their inconsistencies and contradictions and presented Islam in its pristine glory and native glamour. Al-Ghazali is indeed the truest, acutest philosopher that Islam has ever known! But as the author has truly pointed out, Ghazali's philosophical system is not wholly laid down in one single work. 'I is scattered in thousands of pages, clothet

in anecdotes, sayings, aphorisms, similes, metaphors and allegories." This method of treatment has been a perpetual source of error for the students of Ghazali.

In preparing the book under review the author has indeed taken great pains in collecting the necessary material. He has created problems and tried to discover their solutions in the writings of Ghazali. He has succeeded in giving a lucid exposition of his subjects. His analysis is clear and well-arranged. But the book is merely expository, not critical—it is a history rather than a critique. The author has merely attempted to summarize, not to estimate the doctrines of Ghazali. He seems to be a warm and enthusiastic follower of the great Imam.

M.V.D.

Historical research work in India has made a tremendous progress during the present century, and a vast mass of material in shape of published and unpublished records has been brought to light, and yet immense material which happens to be in the Marathi language has not been utilized. Of late scholars have contributed monographs on Sivaji the Peshwas, etc.

It is to the credit of Prof. Sardesai that he has utilized the vast material in the Marathi language. For this work he gave the best part of his life. To him it is a labour of love. He has patiently sifted the vast mass of evidence and condensed it into three volumes, of which the book under review is the first volume. His style is lucid. His intimate knowledge of Maharashtra and the Maratha history, gives a special zest and an authoritative value of his statements and conclusions.

The book is well written and well published. The author is to be congratulated on this most scholarly and scientific contribution to the history of the Marathas, which will, no doubt, long be the standard work on the Marathas. A short and select bibliography would have enhanced the value of the book.

We hope, soon to see the other two volumes of the New History of the Marathas.

K.S.L.

BOOKS, PERIODICALS, ETC., RECEIVED

1. *Random Selections*; published by Kusum Nair for National Information and Publications, Ltd., 74-Laxmi Building, Sir Phirozeshah Mehta Road, Fort, Bombay; Rs. 2-8-0.
2. *Conflict*, by Amir Ali; published by Kusum Nair for National Information and Publications, Ltd., Bombay; Rs. 3-8-0.
3. *Cabinet Mission and After*; compiled and published by Sh. Md. Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazaar, Lahore; Rs. 6-0-0.
4. *The Development of Islamic Culture in India*, by Dr. I.H. Qureshi; published by Sh. Md. Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazaar, Lahore; Rs. 0-6-0.
5. *Power Resources of Pakistan*, by Ali Ahmed Faziel; published by Sh. Md. Ashraf, Lahore; Rs. 0-6-0.

6. *The Government of Iraq*, by Dr. Majid Khadduri; published by the New Publishers, Iraq.

7. *A Concise Catalogue of Manuscripts and Mughal Official Documents Belonging to Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, O.B.E.*, with an introduction by C.H. Shaikh, Superintendent of Education in Baluchistan, Quetta.

8. *Free World*, an international Magazine for the United Nations; published monthly by Free World, Inc., 144, Bleecker St., New York, 12, N.Y.; \$ 0.50.

9. *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. XX, No. I; published twice annually by the Royal India Society, 3-Victoria St., London, S.W. 1; £. 0-5-0.

10. *The Tenth Annual Report of the Y.M.M.A. & Iqbal Library and Reading Room*, Mattancherry, Cochin; printed at the Fazal Printing Bureau, Br. Cochin.

CORRIGENDA

Vol. XVIII, No. II
(April, 1944).

Page 171 for Al-Battāni read Al-Battāni.

„ 172 „ Ibn al-Haithan read
Ibn al-Haitham.

Vol. XXI, No. I
(January 1947)

Page 80 14th line: Add 'a' between 'of' and 'distinguished.'

„ 81 1st „ For 'Institution' read 'Intuition.'

„ 83 20th „ For 1931 read 1913.

„ 26th For 'administration' read 'administrative.'

ED., I.C.

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